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HOW INDIA FIGHTS THE FAMINE.

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THERE is, alas! no longer room to doubt that India is in the clutches of the severest and most extensive famine which has devastated the Peninsula of Hindustan during the present century. At this moment there are more than three millions of people on the relief works, and, as time goes on, their numbers may be considerably increased. The Government of India is struggling manfully with the disaster, and has declared itself responsible for the preservation of the lives of its subjects. As, however, it is only those whose attention has been especially directed to the subject that can have an adequate conception of the stupendous task which Lord Elgin and his colleagues have undertaken, it will be best to begin this paper by indicating its nature and extent.

India may be described as an equilateral triangle, with a superficies of 1,600,000 square miles, having the Himalayas for its base. About half way between its northern and southern extremities, the northern watershed of the Narbada on the west, and that of the Mahanadi on the east, separate the regions known as the Deccan, the Carnatic and Golconda, from the riverine systems of Upper India. The Deccan is a high plateau, with

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its surface a little tilted towards the east, of which the steep Western Ghats are the bastions on one side, while the Eastern Ghats, at a lower elevation, and with a less abrupt descent, form its further seaboard. All the rivers of the Deccan, though most of them rise in the Western Ghats and within a short distance of the Arabian Sea, flow eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. The parts of India northward of the Nerbada are for the most part occupied by the Gangetic plains and the valleys of the Indus and its four tributaries. The area referred to comprises an empire equal in size, if Russia be excluded, to the entire continent of Europe. Its inhabitants now amount to about 300 millions of souls, that is to a fifth part of the human race, and to double the population of the Roman Empire during its most flourishing epoch. These multitudes are subdivided into a large number of distinct States and Nationalities, professing various religions, separated from each other by discordant social usages, and speaking different languages. Of the latter, excluding mere dialects, there are more than a hundred, eighteen being each of them the mother tongue of upwards of a million persons. Amongst these numerous communities may be observed, in active operation, examples of all the various stages of development through which mankind has passed from the prehistoric ages to the present day.

At one end of the scale we have the naked savage hillman, with his stone weapons, his head-hunting, his polyandrous habits, and his childish superstitions; at the other, the Europeanized native gentleman, with his refinement and polish, his literary culture, his Western philosophy, and his advanced political ideas, while between the two extremes, and dovetailed into close juxtaposition, are to be found primitive pastoral communities, with their flocks of goats and moving tents; hordes of undisciplined warriors, with their blood-feuds, their clan organization, and loose tribal government; feudal chiefs and barons, with their picturesque retainers in coat armor, their seigniorial jurisdiction, and their mediæval modes of life; and modernized country gentlemen and enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with their extensive trading operations, their well-managed estates, their prosperous cotton mills and tea gardens. The mere enumeration of these

diversified elements must suggest to the most unimaginative mind a picture of as complicated a social and political organization as has ever tasked human ingenuity to govern and administer.

Let us now glance at the executive and legislative machinery through which these latter functions are discharged. At the top of the pyramid stands the Viceroy, who is immediately and individually responsible to Great Britain for everything that is done in India. He is assisted by an Executive Council of six persons; but, though profiting by their co-operation, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred acting in general harmony with their opinions, he cannot, if anything goes wrong, shelter himself behind their authority, for he is entrusted with the right of overruling their decisions. Each member of the Council, for the sake of administrative convenience, is specially connected with one or other of the following departments: Finance and Commerce, Home Affairs, Revenue and Agriculture, Military Administration, Legislation, and Public Works, the Viceroy himself taking direct charge of the Foreign Office. These persons thus occupy something akin to the position of Secretaries of State in European Governments, with, however, a very important constitutional difference, upon which it is not now necessary to enlarge. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists of the Executive Council above described, plus sixteen additional members, of whom seven are native gentlemen of high rank and eminence. Beneath the Governor-General stand the Governors of Madras and Bombay (each of them presiding over an *imperium in imperio*), three Lieutenant-Governors, and a certain number of Chief Commissioners, all of whom within their respective spheres exercise a considerable amount of independent authority. The administrative unit throughout British India is the "District," at the head of which is an executive officer called either the Collector or the Deputy Commissioner, who is responsible to the Governor of the Province. The instrumentality through which all these high executive officers conduct their administration is what is popularly known as the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, which is recruited through the medium of a very severe competitive examination held in England. The number of Europeans in the Covenanted Civil Service at the present moment amounts to about 1,000, and of European executive officers in

the Uncovenanted Service to about 300.* Consequently the entire apparatus which enforces, sustains and exemplifies British domination in India (the native states being excluded) is composed of 1,300 persons, representing one European to every 177,000 natives. That such a task should be adequately and successfully performed by the handful of English officials thus scattered and lost amid the multitudes that have been so strangely agglomerated into a unified empire under an alien sceptre, is one of the miracles of modern times. Nor can any one contemplate the situation thus created without an oppressive sense of the gravity of the problems, both political and social, to which it must inevitably give rise. To only one of these need I now refer, but that one is so full of danger in the future, and is so closely connected with the causes which tend to aggravate the consequences of famine, that it requires a passing notice—I allude to the rapidity with which the accruing agricultural population of Hindustan keeps treading on the heels of, or rather overtaking, the concurrent means of subsistence. A hot controversy is perpetually raging as to whether India is to be regarded as a well-to-do or as a miserably impoverished country. Those who support the first contention are able to point out that † “whereas, for the twenty-two years ending in 1857, the average absorption of the precious metals by India was Rsx. 3¼ millions a year, during the last thirty years she has absorbed Rsx. 342 millions of gold and silver—i. e., an average of Rsx. 11½ millions a year; that 153 millions of persons travelled in 1895 for profit or pleasure on the railways; that the railways carried 32 millions of tons of goods; that India exported surplus produce to the extent of Rsx. 110 millions; and that with a surplus of income she bought Rsx. 70 millions of foreign articles, amongst which were 257 million yards of Manchester piece-goods:” while the opposite school maintain a theory difficult to reconcile with the foregoing figures, viz., that the mass of the population are over-taxed, over-rented, under-fed, and that they stand, even in prosperous times, upon the brink of starvation. My own opinion is that

* There are, of course many more Europeans in the service of the Government than those above enumerated, such as clerks in the various public offices, a certain number of European police, persons in the employment of the Post and Telegraph Departments, railway servants, custom-house officers, etc., but even the total number of these is only about 6,700.

† See Sir Henry Cunningham’s admirable observations on this point in the paper on “Indian Famines,” read by him before the East India Association, December 10, 1896.

India must be regarded as a poor, but not an impoverished, country. No country where agriculture is not largely supplemented by manufacturing industries and commercial enterprise, or by ample stores of mineral wealth, can ever accumulate great riches, and 80 per cent. of the population of India is dependent upon agriculture and its auxiliary occupations. On the other hand, as the result of careful and minute enquiries into the condition of the people, conducted over a series of years, it seems pretty certain that "the average Indian land-holder, trader, ryot, and handicraftsman is better off than he was thirty years ago,—consumes more sugar, more salt, more tobacco; enjoys a better house and more imported luxuries; and has replaced his coarse pottery by brass utensils, and is both better clad and better fed than his grandfather."* But, admitting this to be the case, there undoubtedly remains a fringe of necessitous persons whose condition approaches terribly close to the pessimistic ideal; and though this unfortunate category may be aptly enough described as a mere "fringe" in its numerical relation to the great bulk of the population, its numbers must unfortunately be counted by tens of millions; and when the critics of our administration can point to such multitudes thus living upon the borderland which separates what is at best a precarious competence from absolute destitution, even though it may be argued that a corresponding percentage of the disinherited is to be found in Europe, they certainly possess a plausible, if not a very sound, basis for their rhetoric.

Nor is the reason of this condition of affairs far to seek. The agricultural population of India is very unequally distributed over the regions susceptible of cultivation. From various causes, born of their traditional beliefs, their social instincts, their family and tribal affinities, the tendency of the rural classes is to agglomerate, and not to disperse; and the heaping up of these masses upon minute and inadequate areas is stimulated by the prodigious rate at which the population multiplies. No prudential considerations seem to restrain their procreative impulses, and the Census returns indicate that every ten years 28 millions of souls are added to their existing num-

*India Office Memorandum.

bers.* The overcrowding has consequently become inconceivable, reaching, in many places, the proportion of nearly a thousand persons to the square mile, whereas in France, even including the urban population, there are only 187 to the square mile; and in England, also including the large towns, a little over 500†. The tenancies are proportionately minute. In Bengal there are 9 millions of tenants whose rent is less than 20 rupees a year, and there are 6 millions whose rent is under 5 rupees‡. In Bengal and Upper India together there are 14 millions with holdings of between three and six acres; and in Madras and in many other parts of the country a similar state of things prevails. But, outside the millions of tenants depending for their subsistence upon these minute patches of soil, and the millions of laborers less closely connected with the land, there are other millions of nondescript folk, such as petty artisans, especially potters and weavers, gipsies, professional beggars, predatory bands, waiters upon Providence, and innumerable waifs and strays, who succeed in procuring a scanty sustenance in ordinary times in a manner known only to themselves.

From the foregoing it will be apparent under what critical conditions the lower strata of the Indian population maintain their existence, and how readily the slightest sinister accident might turn the scale in the wrong direction, and involve them and those belonging to them in unspeakable ruin.

In all agricultural countries the prosperity of the farmer is dependent upon the weather. In Great Britain, as we all know, the weather is the constant source of his legitimate displeasure. But, however important to us may be the behaviour of the seasons, our anxieties on the subject are as nothing in comparison with those of the Indian cultivator. With us, it is a question of a good, an indifferent, or a bad crop; with him it is one of a fair crop or no crop at all. Unless the blasting heat of the sun is

*The increase of the population of Great Britain is 8.17 per cent. in the decade, as compared with over 10 per cent. in India; but, for the purposes of the present comparison, the British urban population would have to be excluded, in which case the discrepancy between the rates of increase in India and in Great Britain would be still more striking. What renders the increase of the agricultural population in India so portentous is the fact of there being such scanty opportunities for the accruing multitudes being absorbed in wealth-producing industrial pursuits.

†The ratio of inhabitants to the square mile over the whole of British India is only 229, and even in Bengal it is only 471; but the large areas of waste, forest and mountain in India would invalidate any comparison between the two countries in relation to this point. The evil indicated extends over tracts which, though exceptional in their density as compared with other parts of India, are of enormous extent.

‡The nominal value of the rupee is two shillings, but its exchange value has fluctuated, and is now only a little over one shilling and three pence.

assuaged and interrupted by the regular intervention of the rainy season in summer and autumn, and by a lesser downfall during winter, his fields become as barren and profitless as the deserts of the Sahara. Providence has apparently decreed that India should be one of the most fruitful regions on the face of the earth; and in this intent, through the action of meteorological forces whose nature is involved in some obscurity, at the beginning of summer vast stores of moisture are accumulated in the empty spaces of the Southern Ocean, and in due time are borne towards India on the wings of the South West Monsoon, in order that they may be poured out in refreshing abundance during the months of June, July, August, and September from one end to the other of the parched Peninsula. Unfortunately, in this as in every other beneficent operation of nature, there is to be observed an occasional miscarriage of her normal design; for although as a general rule she mercifully provides "both the former and the latter rain," its periodical descent has been subject from all ages to capricious interruptions, fraught with disaster and death to millions. The course of the Monsoon is twofold. As soon as it reaches the neighborhood of Cape Comorin, it and its watery treasures divide into two streams—the one impinging with indescribable violence upon the Western Ghats, and gradually travelling northwards with an ever-diminishing impetus, until it finally expends itself upon the southern slopes of the Himalayas. The other stream, passing to the eastward of Cape Comorin, sparsely fertilizes in its passage the outskirts of the Madras Presidency,* reserving its full force for the rice fields of the lower Ganges, Assam, and Burma. Similarly, and with equal opportuneness, the North East Monsoon, later in the year, brings with it the moderate rainfall necessary for the crops that are coming to maturity at that season.

Broadly speaking, the food crops of India are divided into the Kharif, or autumn, and the Rabi, or spring, crops. The agricultural year may be said to commence with the arrival of the North West Monsoon. The month or two preceding this event is a period of almost absolute rest for the land. The rain or Kharif crops are sown in the summer and harvested in the autumn; and the winter or Rabi crops are sown in the end of the autumn and

* During the autumn a recurvature of the current takes place which brings the desired rainfall to Madras.

harvested in the spring. The food crops sown in the rains are mainly millets and pulses on the high lands, and rice in the low lands. The most important of the millets are known as *jowar* and *bajra*. They take from three to four months to ripen, and it is upon them that the mass of the poor population depend for food and for fodder for their cattle. The Rabi or winter crops in Northern India are mostly wheat, barley, and pulses; but in the south these cereals are little grown, and their place is taken by the larger millets and rice. In Bengal rice is the principal crop. In the northwest provinces and Oudh the Kharif and Rabi crops are about equally distributed. In the Punjab, where very little rice is grown, the Rabi crops exceed the Kharif crops; and in the central provinces the Kharif and Rabi crops about balance each other.

But the agricultural welfare of India depends quite as much upon the suitable amount of the rainfall as upon its punctuality. If the South West Monsoon is late in setting in or premature in its cessation, or if there is a break in its duration, not only are the growing crops damaged but the winter crops also suffer for want of a thoroughly moistened seed bed. Rice, for instance, being a delicate plant, perishes if its roots are too deeply submerged or if they are left dry for even a few days.

The first famine of which we have any certain notice occurred in 1770, when it was supposed to have destroyed one-third of the inhabitants of Bengal, or about ten millions of people. Since then there have been twenty-one similar visitations of varying severity, of which a very fatal one was that in Orissa, in 1867, for which the authorities were quite unprepared, inasmuch as Orissa had never been known till then to suffer from such a calamity, and was unfortunately destitute of roads and railways. The worst famine of the present century was that of 1876-78, when the rains failed over an area of 36,000 miles, affecting the status of thirty-six millions of people, of whom five millions perished from want and its attendant diseases.

The experience, then, of the last one hundred years points to the conclusion that the Government of India must be prepared for a drought of some sort twice in every nine years, for a famine once in every eleven or twelve years, and for a great famine twice in a century.

In former days, whether under the *régime* of the Hindus or

of the Moghuls, these recurrent calamities descended upon the land and destroyed their appointed victims, without its entering into the heads of the rulers that the decrees of Providence could or should be thwarted by human intervention. Those feelings of compassion and charity which are inherent in the human breast may have done something toward saving a few individual lives; but the Mohammedans were fatalists, and the Hindus have always been inclined to submit with patience and passive courage to the punishments ordained by their gods. Nor at first, and for some time after English administrations were in possession of considerable portions of the country, did it appear possible either that much could be done to save the people from starvation, or that they were bound to make an attempt in such a direction. Indeed, their hold upon their territories was too slight, and their administrative organization too inchoate, to fit them for undertaking what they may be pardoned for regarding as almost an impossible task. In 1792, however, during the famine which overtook Madras, Hyderabad, and parts of Bombay, the Government at last recognized its responsibility in the matter, and relief works were opened in Madras. As time went on, and subsequent famines occurred, the Government's view of its duty underwent a further development, and it came to be acknowledged that the state was bound to offer employment to all who applied for work, the relief of the helpless being still left to the unofficial efforts of the charitable public. During the famine of 1860-61 the Indian Administration took an additional step for the mitigation of distress by providing near the villages light employments for those who were not sufficiently strong to labor on the relief works. The distribution, gratuitously, of cooked food was also instituted, but on condition that the recipients (in order that they might be properly inspected and cared for) were willing to take up their residence within certain specified and enclosed areas, which eventually assumed the character of enormous poorhouses.

But it must be admitted that the efforts of the authorities to combat these successive convulsions of nature, which within the space of a few months deprived thirty, forty, fifty millions of human beings of their means of subsistence, were only partially successful. At last the terrible tragedy of the Orissa famine, which swept away two-thirds of the population, and the scarcely less

fatal experiences of 1876-78, compelled the Government to take a more extensive view of its obligations, no matter what amount of public expenditure might be necessary for their fulfilment.

With a view of systematizing and giving practical effect to the lessons taught by the bitter experiences of former years, a Commission was appointed by the Government of Lord Lytton, with instructions to examine into the history of past famines, and the methods by which state relief could best be given. The presidency of this Commission was confided to General Strachey, an officer peculiarly fitted by his experience and great ability to turn its labors to the best account. It was under the auspices of himself and his colleagues that what is called the "Famine Code" was drawn up, which, revised in the light of subsequent criticism and experience, is now the authorized programme of famine relief administration.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to describe in minute detail the provisions of this instrument. It will be sufficient to explain that, even in normal times, a complete chain of communication is kept in working order in each District between the petty rural authorities and the head of the Provincial Administration. It starts from the village headman, and passes in regular gradation to the District officers, whose duty it is to submit to the local Government weekly telegraphic reports descriptive of the season and the crops, the rainfall, the progress of agricultural operations, and the probable out-turn of the harvest. Notification is also given of any serious damage done by insects, blight, hailstorms, floods, or other natural calamities. The condition of the agricultural stock and the supply of water and fodder for the cattle is also specified, as well as what is very important, any marked fluctuations in prices. A second copy of these reports is also forwarded to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, who prepares a provincial monthly summary for publication in the *Gazette*. The latter officer is further charged with the duty of assuring himself by a periodical inspection that the machinery for the supply of the above information is in efficient and active working order.

When, under the operation of the foregoing system, there is reason to apprehend a deficiency in the rainfall, and, for this or any other reason, a shortness in the crops, the currents of communication between the village headman and the Lieutenant-

Governor of the Province are stimulated into still greater activity ; and the Commissioner, on the strength of the information supplied to him by his subordinates, at once reports to the local Government his reasons for believing that the signs of a possible famine are apparent, accompanied by an estimate of the area and of the population likely to be affected, a forecast of the extra expenditure to be incurred, and any demands he may think necessary for strengthening the ordinary staff of the District. He is further empowered, on the first indications of distress, out of the sums of money placed at his disposal under the Agriculturists' Loan Act, to institute one or more "test road gangs," preparatory to the establishment of regular relief works, should such eventually become necessary. As soon as it is manifest that there is no hope of escaping the impending calamity, the District Boards are erected into the primary agency for coping with the crisis, with the assistance of the Chief Engineer and his subordinates. It is the duty of these persons to determine the nature of the public works that are to be opened, to regulate the conditions under which they are to be conducted, and to furnish a weekly return showing the physical condition of laborers seeking relief, the sufficiency or insufficiency of the scale of wages, the extent of the available food supply, and what staple grain has been selected for the purpose of calculating the maximum and minimum wage.

Pari passu with the initiation of these preliminaries, arrangements are made for the subdivision of each District into "Relief Circles" under the charge of a "Circle Officer." In addition to keeping his superiors informed of the condition of the population, etc., the "Circle Officer" is required to aid in the management of any state kitchen or poor-house established within his Circle, to visit each of his villages at least once a week, to report the occurrence of any unusual sickness in the village, to ascertain that relief has been effectually distributed in the manner laid down, and to acquaint the people with the site of the relief works and with the wages offered. Measures are also taken for the gratuitous sustenance of certain classes of persons who have no relatives able or bound to support them, such as idiots and lunatics, cripples and blind persons, those who from age or physical weakness are incapable of earning their living, and all persons whose attendance on the sick or on infant children in their own

houses is absolutely necessary. Special regard is also had to the condition of "*pardah nishin*" women—*i. e.*, women who have been accustomed to live all their lives in the sacred seclusion of the Zenana or Harem, and who would sooner die of starvation than sacrifice their instinctive notions of modesty. The relief thus granted may either be given in money or in grain.

The general nature of "relief works" is so well understood that I need not describe them, but it may be as well to note that the persons employed on them are divided into the following classes :

A. Able-bodied persons accustomed to labor of the same kind as that required on the relief works, *i. e.*, professional laborers.

B. Able-bodied persons accustomed to labor, but not to the kind of labor now required.

C. Able-bodied persons not accustomed to labor, *i. e.*, able-bodied, but not laborers.

D. Persons not able-bodied, but fit for light employment.

To the foregoing classes the system of payment by results is applied, *i. e.*, the task for relief workers exacted from Class A is equal to the amount of work usually performed by able-bodied laborers ; the task for relief workers under Class B will be from 10 to 15 per cent. below the task fixed for Class A; and for those under Class C, about 25 per cent. lower still. The task to be demanded from persons in Class D will be determined by the local authorities according to circumstances, but should be of a nature to give weakly persons a reasonable amount of healthy employment. Gratuitous allowances, either in money or grain, are also provided for the children and infirm dependents of the men employed on the relief works.

Wherever relief works are going on, camps are formed in the neighborhood, and residence in camp is compulsory for all relief workers whose homes are not within a reasonable distance; and arrangements are made wherever necessary for the establishment of a contiguous market, the Circle Officer being required to see that the shopkeepers who form it are provided with suitable and healthy accommodation, that the weights and measures used are fair, and that the current prices are written up and daily notified. Where the numbers of relief workers are considerable, hospitals are also established in the vicinity, under proper medical superintendence.

Another equally important institution still further supplements the foregoing establishments, viz., the poor-house. Within its precincts cooked food is distributed gratuitously, on condition that the residents conform to the rules necessary for the maintenance of discipline and order. The people for whom this provision is intended are mainly those who have cut themselves adrift from their own homes and who are unfitted for employment on relief works. Thousands of these emigrants are from the Native States, and they are mostly to be found wandering on roads or by-paths: a special system of patrol is therefore organized to bring them in and to prevent them from dying in out-of-the-way corners. Care is taken that the poor-house shall be located in a healthy locality, and within reach of a good water supply: and precautions are observed for the proper division of the sexes, for a due supply of fresh air and for ventilation, and that there should be as little overcrowding as possible. It is further ordered, if the severity of the famine should render such a course necessary, that an official with a supply of cooked food should be present at all hours of the day. The cooks and those who handle the food of the inmates are selected from such castes as would be conformable to the prejudices of the inmates. To every poor-house a hospital is also attached.

Thus we see that in every part of India, sentinels and vedettes are perpetually on the *qui vive*, even during normal periods, whose special duty it is to watch the times and seasons, and to deliver the note of alarm the moment there is the slightest indication of a threatened deficiency in the usual rainfall. Should the prospect become more serious, the danger signal is hoisted, and, as on board a man-of-war, the ship's company are beat to quarters. Everybody from the petty village official up to the Commissioner, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Viceroy, knows, or ought to know, his place and his duty. First, test works are started; then relief works and relief camps, supplemented by poor-houses for the helpless and infirm. At the same time a house-to-house visitation is instituted in every village, while special patrols go forth into the highways and byways to gather into the net of public charity the unfortunates who, through weakness, imbecility, or ignorance, have failed to find their way into the asylums and refuges provided for them. Nor can there be any doubt that these precautions are to a great

extent answering their purpose, and are daily saving millions of persons who, without them, would long ere this have perished miserably. There may have been confusion, breakdowns and miscarriages here and there ; for, as the Duke of Wellington said, the best general is he who makes the fewest mistakes, and, when a ship is on her beam ends, the nice routine of daily life is necessarily deranged. Moreover, the success of all instructions depends not so much upon the foresight and ability with which they have been elaborated as upon the zeal, the intelligence, and the energy of those entrusted with their application ; but, given the high qualities of the Indian Civil Service, it may be safely predicted that the occasions will be rare when these essentials will be found wanting.

There still remains to be considered what must be regarded as the main problem in dealing with all famines, and that is the conveyance of the necessary amount of supplies to the districts where they are required. Hitherto it has been the impossibility of bringing food within reach of the starving multitudes that has caused so much destruction to human life during previous famines ; for it is evident that animal transport can only convey the necessary provisions a very short distance from the centres of supply, inasmuch as the beasts of burden, after a certain amount of travel, will themselves have consumed their entire load. The great stand-by under such circumstances is railway communication ; for without it the most strenuous efforts of human energy and human ingenuity will prove of no avail when, as is now the case, the desolated area comprises a belt extending a thousand miles in one direction and five hundred in the other. Thanks to the prescience of the Indian Government and to the sagacious recommendations of General Strachey's Commission, during the last twenty years a number of what are called "Famine Railways" have been completed. These railways are known in India as "Famine Railways" because they have been purposely laid down, not where there was a prospect of opening the country to remunerative traffic, or where a paying dividend could be expected, but through those districts where previous experience and meteorological observations have indicated that the rainfall is most frequently scanty and capricious. Already 5,000 miles of these special lines are in full working order, and more are in course of construction. As a consequence there are now no con-

siderable districts in India liable to the visitations of famine where communications by rail have not been fairly provided.

The fund which has contributed in no small degree to providing this particular form of safeguard against famine is technically known as the "Famine Insurance Fund." As there has been a great deal of misapprehension in regard to the nature of this fund, a few words of explanation in regard to its origin and the intention for which it was allocated may not be out of place.

Many people are under the impression that the Famine Insurance Fund is derived from some special and unfailing source of income, and was committed to the custody of the Indian Government in the shape of a peculiar revenue over which they had no control except in their capacity as Trustees. Sir John Strachey's Famine Fund was nothing of the sort. It was simply a sum of Rsx. 1½ millions of taxation, levied in addition to the current yearly revenue, in view of its being applied to the following purposes, viz., the relief of any existing famine; the construction of irrigation works; the execution of Preventive or Famine Railways; and the paying off of debt, the latter operation having for its object the placing of the Indian Government in a favorable position for borrowing whenever a recurring famine year should compel the Finance Minister to raise a loan in order to meet the extraordinary expenditure which it must entail. As a matter of fact, two-thirds of the yearly accruing revenue which has come to be ear-marked under the technical designation of the "Indian Famine Fund," has been applied in accordance with Sir John Strachey's original intention, that is to say, in the discharge of debt and the construction of the Famine Railways already mentioned, and of Irrigation works, upon whose beneficial functions I need not enlarge. The only interruption which has occurred in this process was occasioned by the deficits and the general disturbance introduced into the finances of India by the depreciation of the rupee, which has fallen within the last twelve years from 1s. 7d. to 1s. 3d. Under these circumstances, the million and a half surplus income which had hitherto supplied the means of carrying into effect the famine insurance programme was inevitably absorbed for a certain period by the normal expenditure of the year. But, concurrently with the rehabilitation of the Indian revenue under the able auspices of Sir James Westland, the coveted surplus has again appeared

above the horizon, and will continue to be applied to the purpose designated by its authors. Sir Henry Fowler, in the debate in the House of Commons on the 26th of January, 1897, explained this matter in most lucid language, and in doing so he read the following communication from Sir John Strachey :

"This policy of insurance against famine was simple in its nature, but it has been constantly misunderstood. It has been often supposed that a separate fund was constituted, into which certain revenues were to be paid, and which could only be drawn upon for a specified purpose. No such impracticable notion was ever entertained, and every idea of the kind was from the first repudiated by the Government and by myself, who was responsible for the original scheme. The 'Famine Insurance Fund,' of which people have often talked, never existed. The intention was nothing more than the annual application of surplus revenue to the extent of Rs. 1,500,000 to the purposes I have described. Financial pressure has sometimes made it impossible to make the full annual grant under the Famine Insurance Scheme, but substantially the system has been successfully maintained."

The Government of India having thus provided an extensive Railway System, by means of which grain and food stuffs can be carried both from the chief Indian seaports and from the interior centres of production to the famine-stricken districts, have laid down as a principle that their supply and distribution should be left to private enterprise and to those commercial forces which regulate such transactions in normal times. It is this policy which has caused a certain amount of controversy, and an able writer* has contended that the Executive should "import, when famine threatens, an adequate amount of foodstuffs into such tracts as are more than thirty miles from a railway or port ; and that the moment prices have risen to thrice their ordinary rate in prosperous times, Government itself should proceed to sell its stores of grain at the rate which has been thus reached. Selling at a fixed rate, Government would prevent the possibility of food selling in the same market at the higher rate, while the moment prices dropped below this fixed rate, it would retire from interference and leave the field as open to private trade as if it had never entered upon the scene."

As to the merits of the foregoing suggestion I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion. Fortunately, during the period I passed in India, as well as during the terms both of my predecessor and my successor, we were spared the awful visitation of a

* Mr. T. M. Kirkwood.

famine. Only those who are on the spot, and are in daily and hourly communication with the officers controlling the relief operations, can form an adequate notion as to whether these additional and supplementary precautions would prove necessary and beneficial, or are calculated to interrupt and dislocate the processes of private enterprise. I may observe, however, that the Famine Code expressly states that the Government will not only exercise the power it possesses of controlling the rates for the conveyance of grain by railway, but that, in the last resort, it will itself undertake the function of importing grain into those localities where, through some unforeseen circumstance, the food supplies are not present in the market, or are being withheld by regraters. This intervention, however, is only to continue until the ordinary course of trade is restored, the object being to assist and stimulate, and not to supplant, the business of the ordinary trader. Up to the present moment the policy of non-interference with the markets appears to have been successful, and I have nowhere seen it stated that any mortality has occurred through the absence of imported foodstuffs. But, when all is said and done, it would be vain to expect that our suffering fellow-subjects, whose staff of life has been thus suddenly swept out of their hands, will escape scathless from the impending ordeal. Many of us can still remember the Irish famine of 1846-47, and all its attendant horrors. But, in the case of Ireland, the population affected amounted to only four or five million souls instead of as many tens of millions. The scene of the disaster was restricted to a couple of hundred square miles, and was traversed by a large number of excellent roads, amply supplied with transport, not to mention the existence of a certain extent of railroad. The most afflicted districts were within reach of excellent seaports, and the exertions of one of the richest and most powerful governments in the world were at once applied to the mitigation of the calamity. And yet, with all these advantages at our disposal, there ensued a lamentable amount of mortality. Should Lord Elgin succeed, as there seems every hope he will succeed, in preserving from destruction any large proportion of the starving and destitute millions now being visited by famine, it will be one of the most praiseworthy achievements of this or of any age.

Finally, there arises the question as to whether, in view of the

inevitable recurrence of similar visitations, any further remedies can be suggested. For my own part, I do not see that any very striking improvements can be introduced into the machinery already in operation. Of course, on this, as on previous occasions, our officers will have gained experience, and another time the wheels will probably work with a smoother motion; defects in the organization will be made good; and the traditional policy to be pursued will be more minutely elaborated. As time goes on, more railways will be built; the ramifications of our canals will be extended; tanks and wells will be multiplied and kept in better order; but it must never be forgotten that the real danger which is threatening us in India is over-population. Formerly, desolating wars, pestilences, slave-dealing, and infanticide swept vast regions almost clear of their inhabitants; but under British rule wars have ceased, and its benign sway has greatly reduced the mortality occasioned by the latter scourges. Consequently the normal, or rather the abnormal, tendency of the population to increase now proceeds unchecked, and intensifies the dangers accompanying the visitations of famine. We can then only look for further alleviation of the miseries inherent in such periods of trial to a general improvement in the material well-being of the people and in the staying power of their resources; above all to the growing force of the prudential considerations affecting marriage, as well as to a wider distribution of the population of the congested districts. In view of this latter mischief some years ago I directed a Commission to ascertain what facilities existed for the migration of a certain proportion of the inhabitants from those parts of India where the soil was obviously inadequate to support the dense population accumulated upon it to less occupied though fertile areas; and, as a result, it became evident that there were millions of acres in many parts of the Peninsula, as well as in Burma, upon which settlers, did they only possess the necessary endurance and initiative, could be located to their own advantage, and with the certainty of amplifying the general resources of the country. But the same sentiments and instincts which for so many years pent the Celtic race within the narrow borders of their native island deter the Hindu husbandman from separating himself from his ancestral fields, his relations, friends, and gossips. In time, however, some such change as has taken place in Ireland will

undoubtedly occur in India; and, when once the current has begun to flow, the principle of capillary attraction will act as a powerful solvent upon these inert and sedentary agglomerations. But even these precautions, or any others that can be suggested, would only render the crisis more manageable, for neither human ingenuity nor human science can bridle the winds of heaven or bend the seasons to their will, and the ultimate dependence of the Government must be found in the intelligent and conscientious application of the minute and business-like Regulations set forth in the Famine Code of General Strachey's Commission.

So much for the future. But for practical purposes it is the present with which we are now concerned, and I cannot conclude without appealing to those who may read these lines on behalf of the suffering multitudes who, at this very moment, are in the throes of as dire a calamity as ever visited the human race. Three millions of the population are being kept alive by the means I have described; but all that the Indian Government can do is to provide its famishing clients with just sufficient nourishment to keep body and soul together. To do more would unduly increase the general burden of taxation, and bear too seriously upon the rest of the country. Consequently the share still left to be performed by public charity is almost illimitable; for, even when the beneficent operations of the seasons shall be re-constituted, those who survive will be as helpless and destitute as shipwrecked mariners cast bleeding and naked upon a rock-bound coast. It breaks one's heart to think of what the women and children are suffering, and are destined to suffer. On the other hand, it is surprising what an amount of individual good the smallest dole will effect. In an eloquent address recently delivered by Sir William Hunter at Oxford, he said, in reference to the Lord Mayor of London's Indian Famine Fund: "Every shilling that you give will keep a poor widow or an orphan for a week; every sovereign may save some bereaved family from being broken up; every hundred pounds will enable a whole village which has lost its cattle and seed-grain to make a fresh start."

If, then, so little will do so much, most earnestly do I trust that some of my readers will not turn a deaf ear to India's cry for help.

DUFFERIN AND AVA.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN ?

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

AS NEARLY as can be ascertained, there are about one hundred thousand children in the United States that are public charges. About one-fourth of these are classed as juvenile delinquents or as defectives, including the blind, deaf and dumb, and feeble minded. The remaining seventy-five thousand are dependent not through any intrinsic defect, but through orphanage or desertion, or because their parents are incapable of caring for them, or have been adjudged unfit to do so. The community has, therefore, assumed guardianship over them, and cares for them in various institutions provided for the purpose. The cost of their maintenance in these institutions is, in round numbers, about ten millions of dollars a year.

These institutions differ widely in character. The most primitive form is the county almshouse. It is also the simplest and most convenient form. Naturally, therefore, it was the method adopted in the beginning almost everywhere. And it is still the official method followed exclusively in many of our States, and to a less extent in all but a few of the remainder. About five thousand of the dependent children are thus disposed of, with celerity and ease, and the least possible immediate inconvenience to the local authorities.

If the intention and desire were to make sure that these dependent children should grow up to be paupers, vagabonds, and criminals, then this throwing them in with the human wreckage of the almshouse would be an ideal method of disposal. But if it be desired to make useful citizens instead of vagabonds, then the almshouse, considered as a home for dependent children, is simply an abomination. As to this, there is the most entire

unanimity of opinion among those who have given the subject attention. It is astonishing, therefore, to observe with what complacency our average legislators have viewed the matter. While so zealously multiplying laws for the punishment of the criminal, they seem blind to the fact that in allowing children to grow up in almshouses they are conniving at the development of the thing they are striving later on to repress.

There are some noteworthy exceptions to this, as will appear presently; but in the main the effort that has rescued a large proportion of dependent children from the almshouses of our country has been an unofficial effort, made not by those whose business it is to protect society, but by benevolent individuals prompted to act solely through philanthropic motives. The sufferings of childhood appeal to everyone, and if the legislators were slow to act when the needs of the children were known, perhaps it was in some measure because private benevolence had acted so promptly as largely to forestall their efforts. Private orphanages, under various names, have sprung up everywhere, and these at present afford shelter to a large majority of all the dependent children under consideration—probably not fewer than sixty thousand in the aggregate.

As a rule, these institutions are supported by private endowments and voluntary contributions, but in two States, New York and California, such institutions receive money toward their maintenance from the public treasury. This very doubtful experiment of giving public support to institutions under private control was inaugurated in New York about twenty years ago. The bill authorizing this was aimed primarily at the removal of children from almshouses. It was urged that the easiest and most effectual way to accomplish this was to pay a per capita allowance to existing private institutions, or such as might be subsequently established, for each dependent child maintained by them. In effect, the State transferred its responsibility as guardian of these dependent children to private corporations, the latter accepting this responsibility for a monetary consideration. Having paid this money, the State practically washed its hands of the whole matter. It reserved no right to determine what children should be considered dependent, or how long the charges it paid for should be retained in the institutions. Each institution was allowed to be its own judge as to these matters,

and to draw on the public treasury for the maintenance of such children as it saw fit to receive and retain.

Whether the results have justified this doubtful experiment is a question the answer to which depends very largely on the point of view. The most patent result has been the development of the largest and most elaborately organized system of children's institutions that has ever existed. About 35,000 dependent children are cared for in the institutions of New York to-day, at an aggregate cost of something like four millions of dollars annually. New York City alone has twenty-five such institutions, caring for 16,000 children, one in 117 of its entire population, or one in thirty-five of its child population. That this inordinate growth of the institution system has been largely due to the method of State aid to private corporations is proven, among other ways, by the fact that the only other State whose child-institution system approaches that of New York, in size, is California, the only one having similar laws governing the matter. New York and California, between them account for almost 60 per cent. of the dependent children that are cared for in institutions other than almshouses in the entire country. New York alone supplies half the number.

It is certainly rather startling to learn that one child in every thirty-five in New York City is being reared at public expense in an institution, and comparison with other large cities suggests that this ratio is disproportionate. Philadelphia has but one such child to 2,000 of the general population; Boston, one to 856; even London, with all that we hear of the poverty and wretchedness of its "submerged tenth," has but one to 206 people, as against New York's one to 117. Such figures, however, are not conclusive as to the merits of the New York system, until one has inquired what the institution training really does for the child, and, on the other hand, what could be done for him by some other method. This question is worthy of very careful consideration, because it bears upon the utility of a large number of institutions in States other than New York and California; of practically the entire number, indeed, in which the 70,000 children under consideration are being trained.

To casual observation a well-regulated institution supplies the child with a neat, orderly home, and gives it a certain amount of schooling, and perhaps the elements of a useful trade. But

closer scrutiny shows that the institution also does something very different for the child. It makes him a part of a great machine whose working is never duplicated in the outside world. He is gradually moulded to fit his niche in this great machine until at last all spontaneity, independence, and individuality are well nigh pressed out of him. In a word, the institution training tends to make its recipient an automaton rather than a flesh and blood mortal. He can recite his school lesson and do his task in the work-shop well enough, but as for having any real dependence in himself or any true grasp of his proper position in the world, he has none.

The radical defect of this whole institution system is that it ignores the fact that the most important knowledge gained by the mind of any child in the world is gained by imbibition rather than by direct schooling. The brain of the child is very much larger proportionately than that of the adult, and its cells seem all to have the import of interrogation points. Constantly the child is imitating those about it, observing every detail of all that transpires, asking multitudinous questions—in a word, imbibing knowledge. At five or six years its mind is a marvelous store-house of facts. Meantime its emotional nature has been largely developed, and it has come to have distinct cognizance of matters ethical ; and all this without the slightest definite effort at education being attempted or thought of by the parent.

All through childhood to adolescence this education by imbibition continues as the most important schooling to which the young mind is subjected. It is inevitable, therefore, that a child whose surroundings are abnormal imbibes ideas that are abnormal, and so it is not to be hoped that a child reared even in the very best institution will become a normal and properly educated person, however thoroughly it may be versed in mere school tasks. How piteously abnormal the institution child does become in point of fact only those who have observed it can adequately realize. You may see little tots of three or four, with the cherubic faces of infancy, sitting in rows on benches like so many dolls, seemingly devoid of sensation. Now and again one falls asleep and tumbles over on to the floor. But it does not set up a shriek like a normal child. Instead, it gravely picks itself up and crawls back to its seat. An electric doll would show as much emotion.

Seemingly, the poor little automaton has come to regard such hard knocks as a part of its regular portion. I have known even much older children to suffer pain from an acute pneumonia for days without so much as making known their condition. The spontaneity that characterizes the normal child's expression of its varying moods has been banished from the mind of the institution waif. Even its receptivity, the most deep-seated of its inherent qualities, has been all but dulled to uselessness.

All this applies to the best regulated of large institutions. Indeed, it might almost be said that the better "regulated" the institution becomes the more widely it differs from a normal environment, and hence the more harmful are its effects upon the minds of its charges. Yet without such systemization the institution could not be conducted at all, which is another way of saying that the defects of the institution system are inherent and ineradicable. By no possibility can a large institution be made to supply the atmosphere in which the mind of a child can be healthfully reared.

This conclusion has been forced upon those who have experimented with the institution method of caring for dependent children the world over. One observer has gone so far as to assert that institution children "grow up into half-idiotic men and women." A superintendent of poor in a great city assures me that he can tell an institution-reared man at sight by his manner and expression. The brand of his abnormal training is on him for all time.

Is it any wonder, then, that the average institution-reared child, turned out at last into a normal environment, finds himself greatly handicapped in the struggle for existence, and stands vastly more than average chances of falling into permanent pauperism or criminality? Yet about 70,000 children in the United States are being reared in this abnormal way, and the taxpayers and benevolent individuals are together paying over \$10,000,000 a year to help on the work. How much it costs them later on to complete the task in the police courts, almshouses, workhouses and prisons, it would be impossible to correctly estimate.

In the light of these facts, the conclusion seems unavoidable that any system that disposes of dependent children by rearing them in large institutions is a radically faulty system. At best

such an institution is only a modified and improved almshouse, retaining the inherent defects of the almshouse. The method is utterly indefensible, provided it can be shown that some alternative method of greater promise is feasible.

Fortunately this question is not at all in doubt. The experience of child-savers in many lands and under all manner of diverse conditions proves that there is one best method of child disposal that, modified in details, is everywhere applicable. This method is the essentially rational one of finding a home for the dependent child in a normal, ordinary family. That this can be done has been demonstrated not only in such countries as Ireland, Scotland, England, Austria, Germany, and Australia, but in the only ones of our own States that are able to point with any justifiable pride to the results of their efforts to grapple with the problem of child dependence.

Merely to find a home for the dependent child in a family, however, is by no means the completion of the work. It is necessary that a system of official inspection should supplement the placing-out system to insure the best results. Without such inspection the system of placing out is open to many objections ; but, with proper inspection, it is incomparably the best practicable solution of the problem of child-saving.

But how shall this rational disposal of child dependents be accomplished ? Different practical answers have been given to this question in different communities. In most of the older countries of Europe, and in the very new civilization of Australia, it has been thought that the duty of caring for the children devolves properly upon the government. In Australia in particular a very elaborate system is in operation, by which the government, directly represented by its officials, finds homes for all dependent children, and officially inspects its charges in these homes, to the end that they shall receive proper treatment in all respects, including compulsory attendance in the public schools. An especially noteworthy feature of the system is that the government pays the board of its charges in the families to which they are consigned, continuing to do so while the child is of school age. The rate paid is \$1.20 per week for healthy children, a larger sum for defectives.

In our country perhaps no single State has grappled with the problem as comprehensively as has been done in Australia, but a

half dozen States have made noteworthy efforts in that direction. Foremost among these is Michigan, which has the distinction of having assumed intelligent charge of its child dependents 25 years ago—long before any sister State gave the matter equally intelligent attention. What has come to be known as the Michigan system of child saving is not unlike the Australian system, which it antedates in point of time. The State assumes full control of dependent children, placing them first in a temporary home called a State school, but presently finding permanent homes for them in families. The final disposal is made so expeditiously that at no time are more than two or three hundred children detained in the single institution that is provided.

The Michigan system has been adopted by Minnesota, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, and Kansas, and with some modifications by Massachusetts. It has proven extremely satisfactory, judged by its results. Since its adoption in Michigan, the population of the State has increased more than sixty per cent., yet child dependence has decreased more than fifty per cent. There is now but one dependent child to ten thousand of the general population in Michigan; whereas in 1874, when the present law became effective, there was one to about two thousand. The total yearly cost of caring for all the dependent children of the State only equals the sum that New York City pays for its similar charges each week.

Minnesota, under the Michigan system, cares for 130 children, at a total annual cost of \$22,000. California, with a population almost the same as Minnesota, cares for 4,000 children, at an annual cost of \$250,000. More striking illustrations than these of the relative merits of direct State care on the one hand, as against State aid to private institutions on the other, could hardly be desired.

A modification of the State system, in which the county assumes official charge of dependent children, but makes provision for them in institutions other than almshouses, has been adopted by Connecticut and Ohio. This method no doubt has certain advantages, but it is cumbersome, and to an unprejudiced observer its results have not as yet been such as will compare favorably with those of the unmodified State care system. Under its operation, Connecticut has one dependent child to 800 of the population, as against Rhode Island's one to 3,000; while Ohio

compares even more unfavorably with the adjoining State of Michigan.

Pennsylvania also adopts a county system, but in this case a splendidly organized private benevolent corporation, the Childrens' Aid Society, has practically assumed charge of the work of child-saving, taking upon itself the work of finding homes for the children, and if necessary paying their board. Usually board is paid only during a transition period. A system of efficient and vigilant inspection completes the work.

This Pennsylvania system is perhaps the most radical that is in operation anywhere, inasmuch as it places its charges in private families from the very first, dispensing altogether with the machinery of institutions. The especially noteworthy feature of the system, however, is the payment of board for the maintenance of children that cannot otherwise be advantageously placed.

Massachusetts has adopted this feature of the Pennsylvania system, in connection with its State schools, and it seems almost certain that other States will be obliged to do likewise before they can hope to make proper provision for a certain residual number of crippled and unhealthy children. As a rule, these most unfortunate dependents have fared badly at the hands of the legislators, even in those States that have taken the longest strides in child-saving work. When laws have been enacted making it illegal to detain children in almshouses, an exception has usually been made of sick and unsound children. Even in New York this was done, though one might have thought such a provision unnecessary there. One might naturally have assumed that the great institutions, putting themselves forward as charities, would have regarded it as a greater measure of benevolence to care for a crippled child, for example, than for a sound one.

But strangely enough such did not prove to be the case. The great public-private institutions refuse admittance to unhealthy or crippled children. These must remain in almshouses or be otherwise provided for. So the city of New York, after paying \$1,600,000 a year to private institutions to have its dependent children cared for, is obliged to maintain a public institution of its own for the care of several hundred peculiarly unfortunate children to whom the private institutions refuse shelter. In some cases the defect that debars a child is merely a crippled hand or foot, or a like infirmity.

No doubt, to the managers of these institutions, their attitude in this matter seems consistent with the spirit of broad charity that is supposed to be the foundation of their work. Personally I cannot reconcile the two. Be that as it may, however, the fact remains that not only in New York, but in almost every other State where child-saving efforts have been officially systematized, a certain class of defective children has been discriminated against. Quite generally provision has been made for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the feeble-minded. But there is a class of defectives falling under none of these headings, who, being ill or crippled, are usually left to the tender mercies of the almshouse when a law is passed excluding "healthy children from that unwholesome environment." It hardly needs saying that no child-saving movement that overlooks these defectives can claim finality.

Another defect of even our most enlightened child-saving laws has been the naming of too advanced an age as the time for compulsory removal of the child from an almshouse. Wisconsin, for example, names six years as the limit. Massachusetts draws the line ordinarily at four years, but allows children accompanied by their mothers to remain in almshouses till the age of eight. Even the lower limit is much too high, as anyone will agree who understands how early in life the child begins to imbibe ideas that help to determine its future career. If infants are to be received in almshouses at all, the maximum age limit of their retention there should certainly be two years, as at present provided by New York and Connecticut.

Reviewing this entire question of the disposal of dependent children analytically, it appears to me that there are four essential stages of its development in modern times, which may be outlined as follows :

1. A stage in which the State accepted dependent children as its legitimate charges, and contented itself with consigning them to almshouses. This method has now no defenders, yet it is still the official method of a majority of our States.

2. A stage in which private benevolence, recognizing the evils of the almshouse method, takes the matter in hand, and performs for the helpless children more or less efficiently, as a labor of love, the work which should be a duty of the State. In some cases, as in that of the Children's Aid Society of New York,

splendid service is thus performed; yet a method that permits a State to neglect its duties or transfer its responsibilities to a private corporation must be admitted to be fundamentally defective. Abundant work would remain for private benevolence if the State were to take into its own hands the work that properly belongs to it.

3. A stage in which the State awakens to its responsibilities sufficiently to join hands with the private corporations, to the extent of giving them financial aid or official recognition and support. According to the exact kind of support offered, very different results may accrue from this public-private combination, as witness the experience of New York on the one hand and Pennsylvania on the other. But the method is fundamentally defective, whatever its results in individual cases. If it be the duty of the State to care for its dependent children, then its duty is only half done under a public-private system of child saving. Yet such States as New York, Pennsylvania, and California are still resting at this half-way station.

4. A final stage in which the State arouses to its full responsibilities, and makes official and sufficient provision for its dependent children, shirking no part of its duty. Who but an anarchist doubts that the full and final care of dependent children is a proper function of the State? Yet less than half a dozen of the States of our country have seemed to recognize their responsibilities in this matter. When will the remainder fall into line?

Presupposing, then, that the disposal of dependent children is a duty that devolves properly upon the State, it would appear, in the light of what experience has taught as to the best methods of such disposal, that no State can claim to have done its full duty by this class of its charges until it has fulfilled efficiently the following conditions:

1. The assumption of official charge of all dependent children of whatever class.
2. The removal of all such children over two years of age from almshouses.
3. The provision of separate institutions for each of the following classes: (a.) feeble-minded, (b.) epileptic, (c.) deaf and dumb, (d.) blind, (e.) juvenile delinquents.
4. The provision of temporary homes in institutions or in

private families for all other dependent children, and of permanent homes for them exclusively in private families, as expeditiously as may be practicable, and where necessary the payment of board for their maintenance during adolescence.

5. The provision of a proper corps of official inspectors to vigilantly guard the interests of the children during their entire period of dependence.

Speaking of the present rather than of the future, it appears tolerably plain that as much as this is the simple duty of every State. Yet no single one of our States can claim to have fully met these conditions, though a few, as we have seen, are gratifyingly near it. Which one of them all, I wonder, will be the first to take the final steps toward doing its full official duty by the most helpless class of its dependents?

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

THE "NEW" IN THE OLD.

BY ANDREW LANG.

"MANY things are not so new as we fancy," said a lady lately; "I have been reading in a sermon that the Hermits suffered dreadfully from low spirits." The lady might have found plenty of historical low spirits, as in Lucretius's description of *ennui*. But things more professionally "new" are old enough.

As Mr. Higgins, of St. Mary Axe, says in his preface to *The Last of the Triangles* (1798), "what you" (the Tories) "call the *new* *principles* are, in fact, nothing less than *new*. They are the principles of nature." Thus the absence of any matrimonial tie, so dear to the new man and woman, is only that old state of promiscuity, with which Mr. McLennan thought that mankind began, though Darwin and Westermarck disagree. The absence of private (or any other) property is not a new ideal. Give a Fuegian a blanket. His group tear it into shreds and distribute it.

Let us not, however, go back so far, but begin our researches just a century ago. In the *Antijacobin* we find—see *The Rovers*, or *The Double Arrangement*—a satire on Ibsenism before Ibsen was born. The object of the author of *The Rovers* is Dr. Ibsen's; it is to inculcate "a wild desire of indefinable latitude and extravagance . . . a contemptuous disgust at all that *is*, and a persuasion that nothing is as it ought to be." Says Mr. Higgins, "I hold every government as an evil in itself," to be abated by force, if practicable, if not, "by didactic poems." We now prefer didactic novels, and didactic "problem" plays, *The Woman Who Did*, etc., but the noble principle is the same.

The new is the old! Every man or woman cannot be a tyrannicide, but every man can be a footpad, every married

woman can break the seventh commandment ; every girl can, if she has the force of character, dispense her caresses as the modest violet distributes her perfume. Mr. Grant Allen might have written these beautiful lines on the Arcadian manners of Tahiti :

“ Learn hence, each Nymph, whose free, aspiring mind,
Europe’s cold law and colder customs bind,
O ! learn what Nature’s genial laws decree—
What Otaheite is, let Britain be ! ”

Our newest teacher could not denounce more feelingly than Mr. Higgins the condition of affairs in which we see

“ One man, with one unceasing wife,
Play the long rubber of connubial life.”

In *The Rovers*, the stage directions, so valuable for their conscientious minuteness, might have come from the pen of Ibsen himself. Observe, too, that careful blending of the ordinary—snobs would say the vulgar—with the lofty expression of the highest emotion. Matilda is “ in love with Rogero, and mother of the children of Casimere.” What a tragedy is in these simple words ! To be sure, Matilda is not married to Casimere ; that outrage is avoided by the delicacy of the poet. In our new work Matilda would be the wife of Casimere as well as the mother of his offspring, while, of course, “ in love with Rogero.” Cecilia is Casimere’s wife. The ladies meet, and swear eternal friendship, at an inn.

“ Landlady enters and places a leg of mutton on the table, with sour *kraut* and prune sauce ; then a small dish of black puddings.”

Such is Life !

Casimere arrives, hears that Matilda is present.

Cas. Ecstasy ! Ecstasy !

[*Embracing the waiter.*

Landlady. You seem to be acquainted with the lady. Shall I call her ?

Cas. Instantly—instantly—tell her her lover—her long lost—tell her—

Land. Shall I tell her dinner is ready ?

Cas. Do so ; and in the meanwhile I will look after my portmanteaus.

“ An arrangement is finally made by which the ladies are to live jointly with Casimere,” as in Goethe’s *Stella*. Nothing can be more “ New.”

When our New Woman is not proposing to herself and her readers a reversion to the ancient system of polyandry (on which

consult McLennan, Westermarek, Morgan, and Bachofen), she is apt to disdain and shrink from the atrocious and oppressive male sex. She is not so New but that Mrs. Mary Astell was before her, in 1709. Mrs. Mary "proposed a sort of female college, in which ladies nauseating the parade of the world might find a happy retirement." Queen Anne meant to endow this establishment, but Bishop Burnet persuaded her that it savored of Popery. Sir Walter Scott (who had nothing New about him) speaks of Mrs. Mary as a *Précieuse*, who is anxious to confound the boundaries which nature has fixed for the employments and studies of the two sexes. Swift laughed at Mrs. Mary in the *Tatler* (No. XXXII.). But the New woman who spurns the degrading coarseness of matrimony has closer patterns in Molière's Cathos and Madelon (*Les Précieuses Ridicules*, 1659). These ladies express themselves with such virtuous freedom that I could not quote them unless I were a New lady novelist, writing in a new *Key-Hole Series*. The student is, therefore, blushing referred to the original drama by the unprincipled Poquelin. For Molière, too, had nothing New about him; he laughed at these original delicacies of sentiment.

The New young lady in society is remarked for the generous breadth of her language and the large frolic of her wit. But, alas! even this is not so very new. In the correspondence of Lady Suffolk (1714-1760), we find the maids of honor, led by the oldest and most prudish, Miss Meadows, larking about on a winter night, outside Kensington Palace, knocking on the panes and throwing open the windows of the inmates. Nothing can be more in the modern taste. I read, in a periodical devoted to the intellectual needs of woman, *The Lady's Realm*, that the most popular and most justly popular lady in England excels in the confection of "Apple-Pie Beds." I don't believe it, of course, but this news is of the kind that women love.

For a modern freedom of speech in the fair, see the ancient model, in the letters of beautiful, jolly Mary Bellenden (1720). What a breadth of phrase: alas, that the editor can only represent it by intelligible asterisks! Then, on the Newest morals, consult the epistles of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

"To speak plainly, I am very sorry for the forlorn state of matrimony, which is as much ridiculed by our young ladies as it used to be by young fellows."

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Here her Ladyship gives examples, which, writing in quite an old periodical, I may not venture to cite.

"You may imagine we married women look very silly; we have nothing to excuse ourselves, but that it was done a great while ago, and we were very young when we did it."

Our married women, among the emancipated students of the new fiction, are obliged, like Lady Mary, to urge these frivolous palliations of their fault; of the ludicrous and impure situation in which they find themselves. When Miss Howe, about 1723, giggled ostentatiously in church, the Duchess of St. Albans told her that "it was the very worst thing that she could do."

"Oh, dear madam, no; I can do many things worse than *that*," replied Miss Howe, in all the pride of Novelty. So she went and did them, and then, with deplorable inconsistency, died of a broken heart. Let a New writer give us an historical novel on poor Miss Howe, a kind of pioneer or protomartyr of New women. One reads her letters, skittish letters, and one sees modern new young ladies frisking as gaily, down a path as flowery, surrounded by applause. Then, suddenly, shoulders are shrugged, and everybody says, "Poor Miss Howe!" No reflection is intended on the Maids of Honor, to which body Miss Howe belonged. Then there were Miss Biddy Noel and Miss Dolly Walpole (sister of the Minister), all as new and bright as a new shilling, but all victims to the Nemesis of Novelty.

The constitution of things appears to be against it. It leads, as A. K. H. B.'s Scotch minister said, "to the rop, the rahzor, or the ruvver," or at least to twinkling out, like a candle at a feast, into an unfragrant social darkness.

As to religious disbelief, and the Newness of that admired opinion, read Dean Swift's "argument to prove that the abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconvenience, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby" (1708). Swift admits that "a design to oppose the current of the people, besides the folly of it, is a manifest breach of the fundamental law which makes this majority of opinion the voice of God."

Swift was old-fashioned; we now speak of opposing the voice of science. Thus Professor James, of Harvard, in audaciously putting forth certain ideas which (if inconsiderately accepted) might lead us to the belief in a God, and even in the soul, re-

marks that he is very sensible of his danger. Many of his readers will appeal, in a shocked manner, to science, and cry, "Away with this antediluvian babble!" Mr. James, in fact, occupies much the same position as Swift holds in his celebrated argument. "I hope," says the Dean, "no reader imagines me so weak as to stand up in defence of real Christianity; . . . to offer at the restoring of that would be, indeed, a wild project." The ideas which Swift ventures to oppose were, he tells us, of a moderate novelty in his own time. He has heard it affirmed for certain, by very old people, that, even in their memories, a proposal to abolish Christianity would have appeared singular, and even absurd. The Gospel, however, is now repudiated "among the mass or body of the common people, who are grown as much ashamed of it as their betters." And all this, as we may say, was arrived at "by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning," still less of science, to which Professor James assumes such a deplorable attitude of distrust, not hesitating even to speak freely about Mr. Herbert Spencer! I conceive, then, that the newest of us, however well seen in the doctrine of molecules, should remember that it is not enough to be New, but that we should also be modest. Let "the ordinary cocksure evolutionist" (as Professor James put it) reflect that, with all his laboratories and biblical criticism, he has climbed no higher, and can deny religion no more absolutely and contemptuously than the mass of the common people did, under Queen Anne, and that without any aid from microscopes, X-rays, black boards, or popular lectures. This I consider a very salutary reflection.

My censurers, if they deign to reply to me, will urge that because the New Ideas are not really new it does not follow that they may not be true. Here they have me with them. Age has nothing to do with the matter. I would be the last to venture myself against "the current of the people"; or, as we now say, the *Zeitgeist*, by maintaining that blasphemy, adultery, rapine, and sedition are not things excellent in themselves, and highly characteristic of aspiring freedom. I am not so blind to the lessons of history. My private tastes incline, to be sure, in an opposite direction; like Swift, "I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity or the perverseness of human nature." This, however, is a mere "personal bias," the result, I think, of a confined education. When my more advanced friends tell me

how much they suffer at the sight of married people, at the nonsense which they would hear if they ever went to church, at the ridiculous constraints placed on the personal liberty of even the very prettiest and most liberal-minded young ladies, at the odious "taboo" which obliges us to wear clothes in Piccadilly (and that in the warmest weather), at the obsolete survival which prevents them from walking into Mr. Giuliano's shop and helping themselves to his enamels, I sympathize with them deeply. Their free impulses (as sacred to a Christian as my own) are cruelly thwarted. The most agreeable lady whom they know may be Another's, which is manifestly absurd. She ought, of course, to be theirs till one of them wants to be somebody else's. This is an intelligible posture of opinion; nor would I offend the popular current by calling it "immoral," or by using other hard words. But when I repeat that these ideas, however obvious and soaring, are *not* New, my first object is to subdue spiritual pride. My friends go about thanking the Nature of Things that they are not as other men, or even as that Squire, that attached married couple, or that Philistine. They are New! To this I answer (and I prove it from history) that they are *not* New, and therefore have the less cause for a kind of Pharisaical exultation.

Permit me to choose a minor instance. How often do you hear a gentleman or lady remark, with a manifest complacency, "Oh, I have no time for reading anything but the newspapers." This sounds highly modern, and gives a fine idea of the many and useful occupations of the speaker. But it is not New! Fielding, in *The True Patriot* (November 5, 1745), says that he means to accommodate himself to the times, and is informed "by my bookseller, a man of great sagacity in his business, *that nobody at present reads anything but the newspapers:*" to be sure Prince Charles was marching on London, and *that news (Oh, mon Prince!)* deserved perusal. However, Fielding adds (and the remark is not uncommon) that in his bookseller's opinion the newspapers are recommended by "their eminent badness." The same reason is at present given for the happy success of Mr. A's and Miss B's novels.

I have shown that the New is the old fashioned, and I have also proved that polyandry, free love, sedition, scepticism, and "bear-fighting" by the Maids of Honor, are not new, but of a

hoary antiquity. Thus, even the youngest among us may abate his conceit of his own originality. The practices of adultery, blasphemy, petty larceny, and simple bad manners will, believe me, be infinitely more alluring, more apt to entice proselytes, if pursued without an air of arrogance, without a displayed contempt of others, whose course of conduct may be different.

We owe a certain respect to prejudices which may be the result of heredity and of education. When I see an aged Duke feebly lamenting that his daughter, Lady Gwendoline, has eloped with a popular lecturer whom (to his great embarrassment) she firmly declines to marry, my smile of scorn for the mourner is tempered by the voice of tolerance. The Duke is a dotard of another generation. A regard for what he (absurdly enough) calls "the honor of his house," is congenital with him, as a taste for liquor may be with a person whose great aunt was a confirmed dipsomaniac. Science herself (unless I misread her) justifies a sentiment of toleration to those old-fashioned prejudices.

These antiquarian musings tend to discourage pride in the novelty of our modern attainments. These, as I demonstrate, are not New. "Do the Atridæ alone of men love their wives?" asked Achilles, in an old-fashioned poem, *The Iliad*. Are the disciples of the new ideas the first who have loved the wives of other people? Certainly not. All these new virtues have not only been tried, but have actually been practised as institutions, though for some mysterious reason (which a superstitious age might have attributed to the direct machinations of the devil) these practices and institutions did not prosper. They perished in the struggle for existence. This does seem to carry a presumption that these haggard old New Ideas may not be precisely adapted for use in the world "as God made it," or if you please, as it has been evolved. This is singular and disappointing; however, by all means let us give the New Ideas a fair chance. Our old moralists declaim against them. Swift and Molière and Canning treated them with raillery. It is curious to see how this manner has gone out, and to watch the owl-like gravity of our modern criticism.

ANDREW LANG.

WHAT WILL BRING PROSPERITY?

BY CHARLES STEWART SMITH AND FRANCIS B. THURBER.

I.

THE commercial and industrial returns of the United States for the past four years show a very low average of prosperity, and during 1896 the gains from business pursuits have well nigh touched the zero point. Contrary to the general expectation, these conditions have not changed for the better since the presidential election in November last, and the volume of general business is so reduced that employment for capital is difficult and unremunerative. This state of things is reflected in the money market of New York City, where the ruling interest rates for money at this date are $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. on call and 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ on four to six months' loans.

In marked contrast to the condition of business in our country, the boards of trade and government reports prove that the past year in Great Britain has been one of unusual prosperity. For several months past and for the first time to any considerable extent in the history of our transactions with the great financial centres in Europe, the banks of this city have loaned millions of dollars to European bankers upon bills of exchange as collateral, drawn abroad and accepted and made payable here by the agents of foreign bankers. This new development in our exchanges is temporary and is due to our small importations and low rates for money consequent upon trade depression at home and better business conditions abroad.* "Bad times" in the

* This movement began immediately after the presidential election and was due to the fact that the European rate of discount ruled from three to five per cent., while the rates here on first-rate collaterals at the same period were about two per cent. The maximum amount loaned to the foreigners was estimated at \$75,000,000, and certainly exceeds \$60,000,000. The total sum now outstanding is about \$20,000,000 in consequence of the reduced discount rates abroad. The European bankers who were generally lenders of money to this country became borrowers here, and found considerable profit in these transactions.

United States have usually been the sequence of panics, over-trading, speculations, bad crops, and like causes. As a rule the attack has been acute and the recovery rapid, but the long-continued depression still prevailing has assumed chronic symptoms. While I am aware that little that is new can be said upon this subject, yet a candid and rational inquiry into the causes of our present unusual position may suggest appropriate remedies.

A general answer to the "why" suggested in the foregoing would be that want of confidence, uncertainty, and distrust of the future have paralyzed business energy and caused timidity as to all new enterprises; men have said and acted upon the theory that "until times improve, we don't expect to make money; we are only trying to pay expenses and save previous accumulations." A more careful and detailed consideration of existing conditions would reveal the fact that we commenced the easy and downward path when Congress, backed by an unwise sentiment largely prevalent in the South, inaugurated the policy of aiding the owners of silver mines by buying their product and storing it in the Government vaults.*

For more than a third of a century we had found a permanent market abroad for a majority of our railroad bonds and other securities. Foreign investors have watched with anxiety for years past the growing silver craze, which culminated in the adoption of Bryanism by the Democratic party. And, as an inevitable result, the usual foreign demand for American securities ceased long since as an investment; previous holdings were returned, and the drain of gold from this country threatened serious disaster. American securities have, since the silver agitation, been bought and sold in Europe on speculation only.

Whatever may have been the criticisms and political animosities regarding the administration of ex-President Cleveland, yet the calm verdict of history will do justice to the heroic defence by the President and Secretary Carlisle of the nation's honor and credit, and to their determined opposition to the debasement of our money.

* March 1, 1897. Amount silver in Treasury:

Dollars	391 millions
Smaller coins	15 "
Silver bullion.....	109 "
Amount in circulation:	
Dollars	55 "
Smaller coins.....	64 "

The experience of the Treasury Department proves that it is impossible to force over 60 millions of standard silver dollars into circulation.

Although sound-money ideas prevailed in the late election, yet the result was not absolutely decisive as to the future, because of the large adverse vote, and because the party now holding the reins of power are aiding the silver agitation by encouraging the idle dream of international bimetallism, for it is certain that neither England nor Germany will ever adopt this heresy. That there is danger still ahead is apparent in the renewed organization and activity of sound-money clubs, and the declarations and note of alarm sounded by the very important Sound Money Convention recently held in Indianapolis. If the foregoing statements are true, then the inference must be accepted, that *a single gold standard as a measure of values firmly established beyond peradventure is the first requisite to business revival.*

We must stop continual tariff agitation and let merchants and manufacturers have peace and time to adjust their operations to existing conditions without constraint, change, or fear of change. It is true that the people of the United States prefer that the revenues of the Government should be derived from indirect taxation, *i. e.*, through the Custom House. It is equally certain that we must have revenue enough to pay expenses without borrowing. An increase of the existing tariff which will afford this relief will give us all the protection which we need or should ask for in the mutual interest of both producer and consumer. The tariff question should be settled as quickly as possible, and the determination of the President to call an extra session of Congress is wise. Financial legislation, however, should not be neglected during the extra session. If Congress should pass an act providing that the word "coin" used in reference to all Government obligations, whether principal or interest, should be interpreted to mean "gold," it would go far to help the situation both at home and abroad. The Secretary of the Treasury should be required to cancel gradually (say extending over a period of three years) all greenbacks when received in his department, but as this might cause confusion in bank reserves, some legislation and amendment of the Banking Act would be necessary. That this whole question of the currency should be referred to a committee of experts is a most wise suggestion by the President.

The President has in his late message referred to the subject of "Trusts." He could hardly avoid it. It is in the air. This subject is far reaching. It demands and will have a candid con-

sideration of the respective claims of capital and labor and the interest of the consumer.

Dr. Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, England, well said :

" Economics may tell that either rent, or interest, or wages may rise or fall ; but it belongs to ethics to say which of these has the prior right to consideration in the adjustment of the upward or downward scale. Questions between classes are never merely class questions, and what depresses the standard of living in any one class lowers the level and worth of life throughout the community as a whole. Legislation should seek to deal justly with both classes—with the demand of the men for a living wage, and for the masters for guarded property and fair profits."

Herbert Spencer says with equal force :

" For however great the degree of evolution reached by an industrial society, it cannot abolish the distinction between the superior and the inferior. Whatever arrangements for carrying on industry may in time to come be established, must leave outstanding the difference between those whose character and ability raise them to higher positions and those who remain in the lower. Evidently the aspect of any law differs according as it is looked at from above or below ; the two aspects require to be co-ordinated."

It may not be irrelevant to ask what are trusts or corporations, and what are their relations to the general welfare of the community ? I repeat what I have said in another connection : I believe in ' evolution ' ; and corporations or trusts with large aggregations of capital are evolved as a natural sequence from the small beginnings of trade and commerce 100 years ago as the necessary machinery to handle with efficiency and economy the enormous transactions of the world to-day. It is the condition of large progress. This country and all commercial and industrial countries would be one-half a century behind their present position without this evolution of capital. The same cause has produced trade unions and with the same beneficial results to the wage-earners. Both trade unions and corporations are healthy signs of the times. All these associations are limited partnerships upon a large scale to accomplish Nineteenth Century work. No one man can own 50 or 100 ocean-going steamers or build a railroad 3,000 miles long, and the wage-earners cannot successfully compete with organized capital, without a like organization on their part.

There is, no doubt, in the public mind a hostility to corporations. While these institutions have not been without fault, no attempt should be made to widen the breach between capital and

labor, or to illustrate and enforce the Bryan doctrine of hostility to capital upon the part of wage-earners. The Lexow Trust Committee have, unfortunately, taken up and carried forward this part of Bryan's work, where it fell from his hands. Twenty-five years hence this constant attack against organized capital will seem as absurd as were the riots and attempt to destroy mills and machinery half a century ago in England, when the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire replaced the hand with the power loom.

What we want of our law-makers is to give fair play to honest industry, whether represented by private workers or by organized labor or capital. If present laws are not sufficient, they should be so amended in respect to corporations which affect public interests that there may be an official annual examination in the same manner in which the national and State banks are examined for the protection of their large number of stockholders. The officers and directors should make a sworn statement so plain that any man can understand their condition and operations. If this were done in the same open manner in which it is done in the case of banks, all grounds of hostility to corporations would gradually cease. Secrecy begets distrust in such matters.

Congress at its extra session should be clothed with the power and responsibility of dispelling all doubt as to our circulating medium and other problems which need legislative solution. If this part is performed in Washington wisely and well, the common sense of the people will supply all that is needed to cause agricultural, industrial, and commercial affairs to move again with all the energies of this great nation.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

II.

FIRST, confidence; for confidence means credit, and credit means business and exchanges. Ninety-five per cent. of all the business of the country is done on credit, and probably nearly the same proportion of the world's exchanges are effected by credit in some form; hence, the puerility of the talk of the necessity for more money, when, in fact, we simply need more confidence and credit. Shrink the confidence of the country one-third and we shrink the business of the country one-third, or

more than six times the amount of the exchanges effected by all the gold, silver, and paper money in circulation. The effect of this upon the labor of the country is illustrated by the results of financial panics which block all the wheels of industry and throw hundreds of thousands of persons out of employment.

The first step toward prosperity in this country should have been the settlement of our finances on a permanent basis, but the necessities for revenue have pressed the tariff question to the front, and this question has to be first disposed of. It bids fair to be speedily settled at the special session of Congress which has been called by President McKinley and on lines which will be protective to American industries. While protection may be overdone, the majority of the American people evidently believe, with that good man, the late Peter Cooper, that "nothing can be called cheap which leaves our own good raw materials unused and our own labor unemployed!"

So far as the currency question is concerned, if Congress will proceed on the lines recommended by the Indianapolis convention of business men and appoint a non-partisan commission to investigate and report at the next regular session of Congress what is wise and necessary to provide a sound and elastic currency for all parts of the United States, it will probably be the best possible solution of this intricate and many-sided problem.

Second, as a third step to confidence and prosperity, let Congress pass at the present extra session the Torrey Bankruptcy Bill, which was promptly passed by the House of Representatives in the last Congress, but which was "stood up" in the Senate, under the existing rules of that body, by a few Senators who talked away the opportunity of half a million men to earn a living—dismasted craft in the commercial cyclones of the last few years, who have been trying to work into port under jurmasts and refit.

Third, settle the obligations of the Pacific Railroads to the Government on an equitable basis and amend the Inter-State Commerce Act so as to permit pooling—the right of contract which all other citizens and corporations enjoy, and in the absence of which one-third of the railroad mileage of the United States has been forced into the hands of receivers during the last few years, bankrupting thousands of investors, throwing an army of a hundred thousand men out of employment directly,

and indirectly five times that number in collateral industries, besides reducing the wages of millions of workers in almost every department of industry. The transportation interests of this country directly employ three-quarters of a million men. They touch the industrial and commercial interests of the country at every point. The transportation interests of the country are the cutwater to commercial prosperity. Owing to the competition of waterways and unlimited building of railroads, transportation rates have been depressed to an unreasonable point. The people of the United States are to-day getting their transportation for about one-half that of any other commercial nation. The time has gone by when there is ground for any fear of excessive rates for transportation in this country. All we have to guard against now is unjust discriminations which still exist, both as to persons and places. The great majority of both shippers and carriers desire reasonable, uniform, and stable rates for transportation, but the selfish minority of each, in endeavoring to overreach competitors, perpetuate these unjust discriminations, obtain unjustly low rates, and demoralize the great interests, which if placed on a fairly profitable basis would lead all other interests in the march to prosperity.

Fourth, establish an American merchant marine which will be self-sustaining in time of peace and constitute a militia of the seas in time of war. Steamship lines work for their own countries just as trunk lines of railroad work for their termini. The building, repairing, and sailing of ships employs our own labor and utilizes our own materials, besides distributing the products of our fields, forests, mines, and factories to the markets of the world. Let us follow the example of our successful competitors for the world's trade, pay liberally for mail service on the ocean, whether it be called subsidy or by whatever name—*Get there*. This is what we have done on land by "Star Route Service"; why should we not do it on the ocean! If the same principle had been applied to our postal system on land that has been applied on the sea—paying only the amount of postage collected on any particular route—it would have stopped two-thirds of the postal routes in the United States, for only one-third pay a profit.

Under the forces of steam, electricity, and machinery the "Field is the World" in commerce as in religion. There are fourteen hundred and forty millions of people of which we have

seventy ; they all have wants, both natural and educational, and we need a place to dispose of our surplus productions.

A word as to educational wants as distinguished from natural wants is in order. Heretofore the great bulk of our exports have been natural products, the products of agriculture. With the general introduction of steam and electricity, distance and time have been abbreviated and annihilated, and the fertile lands of all the world have been brought into close competition with those of the United States, resulting in the levelling of the values of natural products and the lands which produce them. It is, in a great measure, due to this that our agricultural interests are not more prosperous, and, hence, the necessity of developing to the fullest extent our manufacturing industries, both to create and preserve the home market and supply the educational wants of the world. In explanation of the term "educational wants," I would state that while on a trip around the world some years ago an English manufacturer of cotton goods, who had moved his plant from England to India, was telling me of the great increase of the manufacture of cotton goods at Bombay, and prophesied that they would soon be supplying the entire demand in Eastern countries for cheap cotton goods. I had just come from China, where American fine cottons were taking the market because they had less clay filling, and I remarked : "Well, if the Americans get the market of the East for fine cottons and you get it in the cheaper grades of cotton goods, what are the Lancashire manufacturers going to do?" "Oh," said he, "the mother country will open up Africa and make it the fashion to wear breechclouts." And this is precisely what British diplomacy and British arms have been doing since that time. It also illustrates what I mean by educational wants—wants of fashion. American inventive skill, combined with our command of the great forces of steam, electricity, and machinery, has produced thousands of articles in this country which are so much more convenient and useful than those employed for the same purposes in other countries that all it needs is to bring them to the attention of the consumers of the world and we can get a fair share of the trade of the other thirteen hundred and seventy millions of people who constitute the population of this globe. But it needs intelligent effort, for until a peasant who has been using a crooked stick for a plow has seen something better he is satisfied with the

crooked stick. Our government should develop its consular service, pay a price which will command the permanent service of competent men (not a foreign vacation with expenses only half paid), apply the principles of Civil Service, which, epitomized, are permanency and promotion, the principles which control in every well regulated business, and, with the individual and co-operative effort now being made by manufacturers to extend the market for American products, we will have taken an important step forward toward prosperity.

Fifth, create a department of "Commerce and Manufactures," in the government of the United States, with an officer in the Cabinet like the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary of the Treasury is overloaded, as is illustrated by the deaths of three successive secretaries, Folger, Manning, and Windom.

Sixth, let "the common sense of most" abate the rivalries of one-cent sensational journalism, which now invade the sacred precincts of the family, the cradle, and the grave. Make it disreputable and unremunerative. At present it seeks profit by arraying capital against labor and corporations, which are natural allies—not enemies. Neither can thrive permanently while doing an injustice to the other. Rivalries of political organizations to catch the tenement house vote are subject to the same criticism. The wholesale denunciation of Trusts is the denunciation of an economic evolution which is conferring enormous benefits upon the community in general. This has undoubtedly been attended by minor evils, which, with careful study and due deliberation, can be remedied, but it is not good policy to burn down all our houses to get rid of an occasional wasp's nest in the peak. Let capital treat labor fairly and then appeals to prejudice will fall on unwilling ears. Only what is fair and reasonable will bring permanent prosperity to either labor or capital.

FRANCIS B. THURBER.

ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL A. H. MARKHAM R. N.

A YEAR ago it was my privilege to discuss in the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the North Polar Problem.

It will be my object in this article to treat briefly of the conditions appertaining to the opposite end of the world, namely, that immense unknown area in the southern hemisphere, immediately surrounding the South Pole, extending northward to the Antarctic Circle, and comprising an area of something like 8,000,000 square miles ; a region absolutely unknown and undiscovered. It seems scarcely credible that practically at the commencement of the twentieth century, when the forces of nature have, by the advancement of science, been brought so much under the domination of man, more especially when they are taken in connection with the facilities of modern travelling, so extensive an area should have remained unexplored and buried in obscurity.

It is, however, somewhat comforting to know that we now appear to be gradually awakening from the apathetic indifference with which we have hitherto been content to remain regarding our geographical knowledge, or rather ignorance, of this particular portion of the terrestrial globe, and are beginning to realize that it is not only desirable, but necessary in our own interests, as well as from a scientific point of view, to undertake a systematic exploration of the Antarctic regions.

On one occasion only has any really serious attempt been made to explore and investigate the regions situated to the south of the Antarctic Circle, and that attempt, incredible as it may appear, was made more than 50 years ago !

Nothing of importance has been undertaken since ; even the portals of this unknown area can hardly be said to have been ap-

proached during that time. Half a century is a long period, especially in this enterprising and adventurous age, when the ever restless and enthusiastic energies of the pioneers of civilization are leaving their indelible footprints over portions of the globe that fifty years ago were deemed almost inaccessible, for one particular part of the world to remain wrapt in the same impenetrable darkness that has surrounded it from time immemorial.

It is, therefore, time that we should arouse ourselves to the fact that Antarctic research is of vast scientific importance, and endorse the views of men of science on both sides of the Atlantic regarding the desirability of promoting Southern exploration.

Well may the question be asked, "How is it that so much money has been expended, so much time spent, and so many lives sacrificed in furthering our knowledge of the North Polar area, when its antipodes should remain unexplored and apparently uncared for?" The answer, however, is obvious. Our interest in the North was originally aroused, more than 300 years ago, when the prospect of discovering a short passage to India, China, and Japan was considered of the highest commercial importance, so as to avoid the long, tempestuous and, in those days, dangerous route round the Cape of Good Hope. The Arctic regions were practically at our own door, for they could be reached from European and American ports after a few days' sail—the Antarctic, on the other hand, was a long way off, and until the beginning of this century was far removed from any port or harbor that could be utilized as a base of operations. This objection has, however, been removed, for we now have commodious harbors and towns in New Zealand and Tasmania, just as capable of supplying necessities, and affording facilities of equipment, and as near to the Antarctic Circle, as are European and American ports to the Arctic regions. Then, again, it must be remembered that in consequence of so many expeditions having been despatched for the discovery of those northeast and northwest passages already alluded to, and also in search of those brave men who have been lost in their endeavors to unveil the hidden mysteries of the North, our interest in those regions has been more excited, and our desire to obtain further information more keen, and therefore our thoughts and attentions have been attracted northwards, and away from the Southern regions.

Now, however, the time has arrived when the question of Polar research in both hemispheres should be equally considered. There is still much to be done in the North, and so long as gallant explorers like Nansen, Jackson, and Peary continue to devote their energies in that direction, we shall not rest satisfied until the entire area of nearly a million and a half square miles has been faithfully delineated on our maps; but it is an indisputable fact that there is much more than this to be done in the South, for there is more than seven times that extent of undiscovered area to be explored, and although the Antarctic Circle has been pierced in two or three places, our geographical knowledge of that region is not only extremely limited, but may be regarded as purely conjectural. In the Antarctic we have absolutely everything to learn!

The first attempt at Southern exploration was made more than a hundred years ago, when that famous seaman and celebrated navigator, Captain James Cook, was despatched from England with this object in view. His instructions were to endeavor to reach a large continent, which it was supposed existed, extending from the Pacific towards the South Pole, and which imaginative map makers and cartographers of the sixteenth century had depicted on their maps covered with mountains, lakes, and rivers. Cook never came across this vast southern continent, for the simple reason that it had no real existence, but his progress was baffled by huge fields of impenetrable ice, which effectually defied all his efforts to advance.*

The following entry in his journal clearly expresses his views on the subject. "I had now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude and travelled it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent unless near the pole and out of the reach of navigation. Thus I flatter myself, the southern hemisphere has been sufficiently explored, and a final end put to the searching after a southern continent which has at times engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers for near two centuries past and been a favorite theory amongst the geographers of all ages."

The dangers attendant on the exploration of high southern

* Two years before Captain Cook's memorable voyage, *i. e.* in 1772, a French navigator, M. de Kerguelen, sighted high land in lat. 49° S. on the 69th meridian of E. longitude, which he somewhat hastily assumed was the long-talked-of southern continent, but on subsequent examination it proved to be an island which now bears his name.

latitudes were fully recognized by Cook, who writes, "that the risk run in exploring a coast in these unknown and icy seas is so very great that I can be bold enough to say that no man will ever venture farther than I have done, and that the lands which may lie to the south will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow storms, intense cold, and every other thing that can render navigation dangerous must be encountered, and these difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country, a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice."

Cook's predictions have not in this instance been verified, for already navigators have penetrated further to the south than he did, and the difficulties and dangers alluded to by him have not certainly been in excess of those encountered by explorers in the Arctic regions. Weddell, Ross, and Kristensen have all passed the extreme position attained by Captain Cook, but so far these are the only explorers who have succeeded in crossing the 70th parallel of south latitude.

The first named, an energetic sealing captain, while pursuing the avocations of his trade, in a small brig named the "*Jane*," actually succeeded in 1823 in passing the high position reached by Cook, and sailed three degrees further to the southward, but at some considerable distance to the eastward of the track of the great navigator. Unlike Captain Cook, who alluded to the "inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country," Weddell writes hopefully, a day or two before he reached his extreme southern position, that not a particle of ice was to be seen in any direction; that the weather was mild and serene, and the sea literally covered with birds! This, however, is only another instance of the uncertain and varied conditions of ice and sea in high latitudes at different periods.

In 1839, in consequence of urgent representations made to the British government by the Royal and other learned societies, it was decided to despatch a naval expedition with the object of prosecuting scientific researches, more especially with reference to observations in territorial magnetism, in the Antarctic regions. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Captain Sir James Clark Ross, a skilful sailor, an experienced navigator, and a man of great scientific attainments. He had already earned a deservedly high reputation as an explorer by his discovery of the North

Magnetic Pole, after enduring great hardships and privations, during an enforced residence of over four years on the barren and sterile shores of Boothia Felix. No man could have been selected better qualified for the command of such an enterprise, and the result conclusively proved the wisdom of the selection. The ships placed under his command were the "Erebus" and "Terror," the identical vessels that six years later sailed from England under Sir John Franklin on his last, ill-fated expedition.

Ross sailed in September, 1839, and reached Tasmania the following August, where he heard for the first time of the discoveries of Wilkes and D'Urville, but neither of these explorers had succeeded in penetrating beyond the 70th parallel of latitude; but then it must not be forgotten that their ships were in no way adapted for ice navigation. For three years did Ross persist in his endeavors to penetrate the ice, on various meridians of longitude, with the view of reaching a high latitude, and with such success that he had the satisfaction of carrying his clumsy bluff bowed old ships to latitude 75 degrees 3 minutes in about the longitude of New Zealand.

In order to attain this high position he had sailed for more than 300 miles in an east and west direction, along an absolutely impassable barrier of ice, rising like a great perpendicular cliff to a height in some places of over 200 feet above the level of the sea, and sinking to a depth of over 1,000 feet below. From his highest position land was observed stretching away to the eastward, a range of stupendous mountains rising in many peaks, and culminating in two high mountains of an estimated altitude of 15,000 and 10,000 feet, to which the names were given, respectively, of Mounts Terror and Erebus. Both were evidently of volcanic origin, and from one dense column of smoke intermingled with incessant flashes of flame were observed. To the large tract of land on which these mountains were situated, was given the name of Victoria Land, after Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of England. Numerous glaciers of gigantic dimensions were seen filling up the broad spaces between the hills, and projecting several miles into the sea. It was a great disappointment to Sir James Ross and his companions that they were unable to make a closer inspection of this apparently vast continent, but all attempts at landing were frustrated by the enormous masses of ice that lay between them and the land, and

they were reluctantly compelled to abandon an enterprise so fraught with interest, and return home.

As an instance of the varying manner in which the peculiarities of a country strike different observers, it may be remarked that whereas Captain Cook, a very correct and shrewd observer, condemned the country, weather, etc., in unmistakable language, Sir James Ross writes that "on some days the sun shone forth with great brilliancy from a perfectly serene and clear sky of a most intense indigo blue, and the members of the expedition gazed with feelings of indescribable delight upon a scene of grandeur and magnificence beyond anything they had ever before seen or could have conceived."

The expedition was productive of much useful and valuable scientific knowledge, more especially with regard to the physical and biological conditions of the Antarctic regions, while the position of the South Magnetic Pole was approximately determined to be about 150 miles to the southeast of Mount Erebus. No other expedition, equipped on the same elaborate scale, has been despatched for the purpose of exploring those interesting regions since the return of Sir James Ross. It is very true that H. M. S. "Challenger," while engaged on her scientific and interesting voyage round the world, crossed the Antarctic Circle, but it was no part of her duty to penetrate into the unknown area, more especially as she was not constructed for the purpose of navigating ice-clad seas, but she materially added to our knowledge of high southern latitudes during her eventful cruise.

- When we reflect on the amount of interesting work that was accomplished by Sir James Ross in his old cumbrous, dull sailing ships, more than half a century ago, we may safely assume that a couple of well-found steamers, competently commanded, and replete with all modern requirements, would reap a more abundant scientific harvest in the course of one navigable season, than was achieved by Ross during the three years he was engaged in his interesting exploration of the South Polar regions. As a verification of this assumption, I will take as an illustration the recent voyage made by the whaler "Antarctic," practically the first steamer, specially constructed for ice navigation, that has attempted to penetrate for any distance the ice fields of the South.

This vessel, under the command of Captain Kristensen, left

Melbourne, in Australia, on the 28th of September, 1894, fully equipped for a whaling and sealing voyage ; but it was arranged that in prosecuting the commercial part of the enterprise, they would also use their utmost endeavors to promote geographical research by attempting to reach Ross's great continent, and, if possible, even a higher latitude. After a brief stay in Tasmania the Antarctic Circle was crossed on Christmas Day, and ten days afterwards they entered the main body of the ice in latitude 67 degrees on the 125th meridian of east longitude.

In another ten days they succeeded in working their way through the pack for about 200 miles in a southerly direction, when they reached open water.

In this large expanse of water many whales were seen, but unfortunately they were not of the right sort for commerce, and were therefore not molested. Continuing to push their way to the southward, they reached the latitude of 74 degrees 10 minutes and 173 degrees east longitude, on the 22d of January, only four weeks after they had crossed the Antarctic circle. This was undoubtedly a great achievement, clearly proving the advantages that steam possesses over sails as a motive power in a ship engaged in ice navigation. During the voyage they succeeded in effecting a landing on the great Southern continent in the neighborhood of Cape Adare, and thus had the extreme gratification and honor of being the first human beings that had ever set foot on Victoria Land.

A large collection of geological and other specimens were made, with which rich and interesting harvest the "Antarctic" returned to Melbourne, reaching that port on the 12th of March, after an absence only of five and a half months.

This cruise of the little "Antarctic," so bravely and so skillfully conducted, as a pioneer voyage of discovery in the high latitudes of the Southern hemisphere, must always be regarded as of the highest interest and importance, as showing what can be done by a well-found steamer competently commanded.

The time is now ripe for a prosecution of Antarctic research, and it should be carried out on a scale equal to that governing the expedition which was despatched under the command of Sir James Ross more than fifty years ago, when the gain to science that would result would, I feel assured, be of far greater value and interest now than it was half a century ago.

I have already said our knowledge of the Antarctic regions is extremely limited. The fauna of that large Southern continent is absolutely unknown; no land animals have ever been seen there, nor have any traces of vegetation been discovered, except, I believe, a few moss specimens and a lichen that were gathered by Captain Kristensen in the neighborhood of Cape Adare. So far as we know at present, the land is barren and sterile beyond conception. On the other hand, the fauna of the Antarctic sea is immensely rich, and is reported to be by Dr. John Murray "apparently more abundant and more peculiar than in any other region of the ocean's bed." Further investigations in the South Polar regions would be of the greatest value as enabling us to obtain a knowledge relative to hitherto unsolved problems in the science of oceanography.

Geography, and its closely allied sister, Geology, would be essentially benefited by further research. The possible extent of what is known to be a vast tract of country would, perhaps, be ascertained. *The nature of the formation of its rocks* would be determined, and possibly rich fossiliferous deposits found. More volcanic mountains may be discovered. The extent and depth of the ice cap, which has been seen by all navigators that have penetrated far South, would probably be satisfactorily determined. Pendulum observations, and others bearing on terrestrial magnetism in a high Southern latitude, would be of the greatest value and importance.

Professor Neumayer, than whom there is no higher authority, says "that without an examination and a survey of the magnetic properties of the Antarctic regions, it is utterly hopeless to strive with prospects of success at the advancement of the theory of the earth's magnetism."

In a report drawn up by a committee of the Royal Society of London, the importance of further researches into the question of terrestrial magnetism is very strongly urged. It says that "while many branches of science will benefit by observations in this Southern region, it is more especially the requirements of magnetism which have forced themselves upon the notice of your committee, and there can be no doubt that an exploring expedition is urgently needed to add to our knowledge in this branch of science." In continuation, the report points out that in calculating the magnetic state of the whole surface of the earth, it is ab-

solutely indispensable that the calculation should be checked by observations made in high Southern latitudes. It is further stated that while our knowledge of the position of the North Magnetic Pole has been determined, that of the South Magnetic Pole is not known to within about a hundred miles. In order to determine its position, it is not absolutely necessary to reach that spot, but it can be fairly well fixed by calculation, if accurate observations of the magnetic inclination were made in various positions in high Southern latitudes.

Looking at the necessity of the renewal of Antarctic research from a practical standpoint, I will mention one particular reason which will, I think, suffice to illustrate the desirability, nay, the necessity, of obtaining further information regarding the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism.

The days of old wooden sailing ships are numbered, and their place has been taken by large swift steamers, which carry valuable cargoes of human freight and rich merchandise to all parts of the world. An accurate knowledge of the variation of the compass, especially in those regions where fogs are prevalent, and where the sun is frequently obscured for several successive days, will enable a direct course to be steered with confidence, materially diminishing the distance that would otherwise probably have to be traversed, and thus ensure a perceptible saving of time, which, it is hardly necessary to say, means money. This is especially applicable to vessels constructed of iron or steel. The change of magnetic declination in the Southern hemisphere, especially along those great trade routes to the Cape of Good Hope, Australia and New Zealand, is known to be very great, but the *exact* change is unknown, and can only be correctly ascertained by a series of systematic observations taken in high Southern latitudes.

A perfect knowledge of the conditions of the ice is also of very great interest. The icebergs met with in the Southern regions differ very materially in size and shape from those seen in the North. They are of a uniform tabular topped shape, with steep precipitous sides and many of them of enormous bulk and length. They are, it may reasonably be inferred, fragments from that immense ice barrier along which Ross sailed for a distance of over 300 miles, and which stretched away to the southward like a vast and interminable sea of ice.

Captain Kristensen reports having seen one of these huge bergs, which he estimated at over 50 miles in length, and which, at first, was mistaken for an island and actually named after the promoter of his enterprise. This is not to be wondered at, for we know that many of these bergs have been frequently seen so discolored as to be easily mistaken at a distance for land. This discoloration is due to the presence of mud, clay, gravel and stones, and even large boulders of red sandstone and basalt have been seen on them, sure indications of land to the southward.

It is almost superfluous to add that the science of meteorology would be greatly promoted by the despatch of an Antarctic expedition. The assertion that our knowledge of meteorology must be considered as absolutely incomplete until we have continuous observations recorded during a period of two or more consecutive years in high Southern latitudes is very true, and these observations would add very materially to our knowledge of the effect that results from the changes of climate over large areas of ice covered seas.

And, finally, writing as a naval officer and one who has seen considerable service in the regions of "thick ribb'd ice," I cannot help expressing a very decided opinion that, apart from the valuable scientific information that must necessarily accrue from a naval Antarctic exploring expedition, fitted out and despatched under the auspices of government, the very fact of employing officers and men during peace time, on a service which essentially demands from them all the pluck, energy, and resources and other qualities that are so highly valuable in war time, cannot but be of the greatest importance to that nation which employs her navy on such a laudable and patriotic service.

I will conclude with the following extract from a speech recently delivered by the Duke of Argyll on the subject of Antarctic exploration: "I confess I feel an immense interest in the question of an Antarctic expedition. I always feel a little shame that civilized man, living on his own little planet, a very small globe, should, in this nineteenth century of the Christian Era, not yet have explored the whole of this little area; it seems a reproach on the enterprize, civilization, and condition of knowledge of the human race."

And in these admirable sentiments I cordially concur.

A. H. MARKHAM.

THE BLACK PLAGUE.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL WALTER WYMAN.

THE Plague, known also as the Bubonic Plague, Levantine, Oriental, and Black Plague, and Black Death, is a disease which has ravaged from time to time the several countries of Africa, Asia, and Europe almost from time immemorial. The literature on the subject is appalling in extent, a mere enumeration of titles, with authors, covering forty pages, royal quarto size, of the *Index Catalogue* of the library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army, and a score or more columns in the *Index Medicus*, published since the issue of the *Index Catalogue* in 1889.

Manetho, an Egyptian historian who lived at the beginning of the third century, B. C., described pestilences supposed to have been the plague as having occurred in the reign of the most ancient Egyptian kings. It prevailed in Athens 429-431 B. C. Thucydides has described it and had the disease, and Hippocrates noted it. It is said that Athens lost more than one-third of its population by the epidemic.

According to Rufus of Ephesus the plague prevailed in Lybia in the third century B. C., and its home was considered to be in Northern Africa. The great plague reported by Livy, who died 221 B. C., is said to have destroyed a million of persons in Africa, but it is not mentioned that it passed into Europe. Plague is also alluded to in the Bible, Zechariah xiv., 18, as peculiarly Egyptian, of which country this disease has been a great scourge.

In the Christian era it is not until the sixth century that we find the bubonic plague in Europe. In 542 it spread over Egypt, and passed to Constantinople, where it carried off 10,000 persons in one day, and in the same century appeared in Italy, and extended also along the northern coast of Africa. It prevailed in England in the seventh century.

In the fourteenth century it was introduced from the east and prevailed throughout Armenia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Northern Africa, and nearly the whole of Europe. Hecker calculates that one-fourth of the population of Europe, or 25,000,000 persons, died in all of the epidemics in the fourteenth century. It was in this century that the first measures were taken to check the spread of the plague, Venice appointing in 1348 three guardians of the public health for this purpose.

In the fifteenth century it recurred frequently in nearly all parts of Europe; in one year, 1466, the mortality reaching 40,000. The first quarantine establishment was founded in that century, in 1403, on a small island adjoining Venice.

The sixteenth century was not more free from plague than the fifteenth. In 1572, 50,000 died at Lyons. In 1576 Venice lost 70,000.

In the seventeenth century it still prevailed in Europe, though less widely than in the middle ages. In 1656 one of the most destructive of all recorded epidemics raged in Naples. It is said to have carried off 300,000 in a period of five months. The great plague of London was in 1664 and 1665. The total number of deaths in 1665, according to the bills of mortality, was 68,596 in an estimated population of 460,000, out of whom two-thirds are supposed to have fled to escape contagion.

In the eighteenth century it prevailed extensively in Europe, the most notable epidemics being in Marseilles (1720), when from 40,000 to 60,000 persons were carried off. In 1721 it appeared in Toulon and spread over Provence, and out of a population of 250,000 persons 87,659 are said to have died. Sicily was visited in 1743, namely, at Messina, where the mortality was between 40,000 and 50,000. In 1771 it broke out in Moscow, and more than 50,000 persons, nearly one-quarter of the population, were carried off.

The nineteenth century has been marked by a recession of the plague toward the East, although in 1815 it appeared on the eastern coast of Italy, confined to a small district—its last appearance in that country. An isolated epidemic appeared in Greece in 1828. It appeared in Egypt between 1833 and 1845, the last year witnessing the last plague epidemic observed in that country, and marking its great eastward recession.

There was an epidemic of extreme severity in Cairo, 1835,

during which there died a number of the inhabitants equal to the whole adult male population.

In 1840 Dalmatia, in 1841 Constantinople, and in 1843 and 1844 the eastern part of Egypt were its western boundaries.

Since 1850 the western limit of the plague is the Canary Islands (1852), while its eastern limit is the Island of Formosa, off the coast of China, where it now prevails.

Since 1850 the disease has oscillated, now east and now west, between the Red Sea and the Pacific, in China, India, Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Russia, Caspian Sea, Afghanistan, Tripoli. There have been since 1850 but 19 years when it has not been recorded in one or the other of these countries. The last outbreak of plague on European soil was in 1878 and 1879 on the banks of the Volga.

As to the "plague belt," it may be said that since 1850 the disease has never travelled further north than Astrakan, about 45 degrees north, although within the present century it has visited Moscow, Norway, and Sweden, and latitudes as far as 60 degrees north. According to Cantlie, the plague belt is from 19 degrees west longitude to 121 degrees east longitude, and between 48 and 19 degrees north latitude. According to the same author, it has never been known in the Western Hemisphere or anywhere south of 19 degrees north of the equator, with the possible exception of several reported cases in Singapore, which is in 2 degrees north latitude. During the nineteenth century the belt of the plague may be roughly described as the basin of the Mediterranean, and the strip of country in Asia, from Turkey to China, running parallel to that sea; but the Mediterranean part of the belt has disappeared almost wholly within the present generation.

Formerly it was asserted that plague never appeared east of the Indus in India; nevertheless, it has been observed during the present century in more than one distinct centre in India. Since 1871, it has been heard from, particularly in China.

It should be remarked in this connection that, according to Lowson, the history of the disease in the Far East is, with the exception of Rocher's Papers, a perfect blank.

The present epidemic in Bombay is generally believed to have been introduced from Hong Kong. There was a violent epidemic in Hong Kong, in 1894, and an exacerbation of it in the same city in 1896. It was brought to Hong Kong in 1894

from Canton, distant only eight hours by steamer, and is supposed to have been introduced into Canton in 1894 by way of Thibet, from Northern India. The officially estimated mortality to February 9 is 13,221, though it is claimed that it was much greater.

This disease furnishes a striking illustration of the scientific advance of modern medicine. It was not until 1894 that positive knowledge of its true nature became known. Now, its cause, method of propagation, and the means necessary to prevent its spread are matters of scientific certainty. True, investigation is still necessary to make this knowledge complete, but enough is known to warrant the foregoing statement. All through the centuries, before and during the Christian Era, down to 1894, the subject has been enveloped in darkness, and there has been the same groping after facts, the same unsuccessful search for the true cause, the same struggle in ignorance against its ravages, on the part of physicians, sanitarians, and public officials, as has marked the history of that other great epidemic disease, cholera, now likewise robbed of its terror by science.

One has but to reflect upon the vast amount of research, thought, and labor involved in the preparation of that mass of literature previously referred to, and to the misery, disaster, and death of which it is the exponent, in order to appreciate the value of the great discovery of 1894. It is to the immortal Pasteur and to his contemporary Koch, in their establishment of bacteriology as a science, that credit is due for the possibility of this discovery, and to a Japanese physician, Dr. Kitasato, a student in the laboratory of Koch, we owe the discovery itself.

When in 1894 the plague was epidemic in Hong Kong, hundreds dying daily, great apprehension existed on the part of Japan, and accordingly Drs. Kitasato and Aoyama, with assistants, were commissioned by the Japanese Government to visit Hong Kong and there study the disease, the former to make bacteriological investigation, and the latter to report upon its clinical and pathological characteristics. The report of Kitasato announcing the discovery of the plague bacillus was published under the auspices of the University of Tokio, July 7, 1894, and may be found in full in the Annual Report of the Marine Hospital Service for 1894. Other investigators during the same year were, on the part of the English, Doctors Lowson and Cantlie;

on the part of the French Government, Dr. Yersin; of the German Government, Dr. Wilm; and of the United States, Dr. Arnold, of the Navy, to whom we are indebted for the cultures which form the basis of the experiments now being conducted in three laboratories in the United States.

It has been defined as an acute febrile disease of an intensely fatal nature, characterized by inflammation of the lymphatic glands, marked cerebral and vascular disturbances and by the presence of a specific bacillus. Although one gland alone may be clinically apparent, most, if not all, of the lymphatic glands are found to be enlarged at the post mortem examinations.

A bubo is simply an inflamed gland, and the name bubonic plague is given to the disease because of the inflammation, and sometimes suppuration, of the various lymphatic glands of the body. In from three to six days after exposure the disease makes its appearance in the individual. This period—the period of incubation—in some instances may reach nine days. The patient complains of high fever, a swelling of one or more of the lymphatic glands, and has delirium early in the attack, though seldom violent. The fever persists at least a week, and convalescence thereafter is slow. In fatal cases death usually occurs at the height of the disease, between the second and eighth day, frequently within forty-eight hours. If life is prolonged for five or six days the prognosis is better. The glands most commonly affected are those of the thigh and groin, next of the axilla, and sometimes those in the neck. The swollen gland quickly attains the size of a hen's egg, and unless death intervenes, after five or six days the gland softens and is filled with pus, which may be evacuated. In many cases of the severer type the bubo (inflamed gland) has not time to form, and then there are hemorrhages from the mucous membranes and beneath the skin—hemorrhagic extravasations—the so-called petechial spots. It is probably this phenomenon, giving a dark appearance to portions of the skin, which has given the name of "black death" to the disease. Large buboes may form in a few hours after a time when a person has felt in the best of health. And, on the other hand, patients die of the disease without the appearance of a single affected gland, although the post mortem examination shows the glands to be slightly swollen, and their substance contains the plague bacillus.

According to Wilm death is generally caused by paralysis of the heart; in other cases it is from brain complications—meningitis, cerebritis, and hemorrhage.

The death rate varies in different epidemics, and is estimated at from 50 to 90 per cent. It varies, however, apparently, according to nationalities. From the official reports of the epidemic in Hong Kong, in 1894, the death rate of the several nationalities was as follows: Chinese, 93.4 per cent.; Indians, 77; Japanese, 60; Eurasians, 100, Europeans, 18.2. The relatively small percentage of deaths among Europeans is attributed to the European blood and stamina, to the early treatment and confidence in the European medical attendant.

The cause of the disease is a bacillus somewhat resembling that of chicken cholera—a small short rod, with rounded ends of the non-spore-bearing variety, characterized by its property of extremely rapid multiplication and the facility with which it enters the human organism. It is found in large numbers in the pus from the buboes, occasionally in the interior organs, in grave cases in the blood, and in the fæces. It is also found in the dust of infected houses and in the soil. While so virulent, its resisting power to chemical disinfectants is feeble, succumbing shortly in a one per cent. solution of carbolic acid, or of lime water. It dies in four days if kept at a dry heat of 60 degrees C., or 140 Fahr., or in half an hour if subjected to a temperature of 80 degrees C., 176 degrees Fahr.; and in a few minutes if subjected to a heat of 100 degrees C., 212 degrees F. As demonstrated in the Hygienic Laboratory of the Marine Hospital Service, it is easily destroyed by all of the ordinary disinfectants. On the other hand it develops easily in many culture-media at the ordinary temperature—18 to 22 degrees C., or 64.4 to 71.6 Fahr.

The length of its life, when exposed to favorable conditions outside of the human body, is as yet undetermined. Experiments on this point are being conducted in the Hoagland Laboratory in Brooklyn, and the bacillus exposed on filter paper and on blankets in a dark closet is reported as still living at the end of the thirty-eighth day. How much longer it will live is a matter of conjecture. This has an important bearing upon the quarantine measures necessary to be enforced, particularly with regard to merchandise from an infected port.

An interesting suggestion as to the cause of the prevalence of

this disease in India and China is offered by Dr. Charles W. Dabney, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to the effect that it may be because the people of India are so badly fed, and fed only on rice and other grains which contain very little protein. As compared with wheat, oats, Indian corn, and rye, rice, by the protein standard, is the poorest food of them all. Additional credence may be given to this theory from the fact that plague so often accompanies famine. Other conditions are known to favor it, such as overcrowding and filth; but in cities and localities where these two elements are present, while the disease has raged violently, it has been made to disappear in time; while in India, where these conditions prevail, with faulty nutrition added, the disease is persistent.

The methods by which the bacilli enter the human body are three in number—by inoculation (through an external wound or abrasion), by respiration, and by introduction into the stomach. The Japanese investigator, Aoyama, contracted the disease by inoculation incurred during a post mortem, and one of his assistants died of the disease contracted in the same manner. According to Lowson, skin to skin infection is impossible, unless the one to be infected has some wound, and the infector's skin has been soiled by fæces, blood, or the contents of buboes. The individual may contract the disease by inhaling the dust from infected houses which contains the germ; furthermore, by imbibing infected fluids or eating infected food.

It may be contracted, therefore, through one or more of the above-mentioned channels, by prolonged and intimate contact with the plague stricken, as in the case of a nurse carrying a child ill with the disease. Also by the handling of fomites—clothing, bedding, and other infected materials, and by eating with soiled or unwashed hands. Infection from bodies found in the street, in houses, or awaiting burial may take place if the clothes have been soiled by discharges. Cantlie says: "Bulard sleeping in the dead man's shirt proves nothing further than that the plague-infected garment did not generate the poison of an intensity sufficient to infect. The poison grew every moment more dilute, but a nurse carrying a child, throwing off contagion continuously, is an exposure of a different stamp." According to Lowson the poison is not given off in the ordinary respiration of a patient suffering with the disease; and sputum and saliva

from an infected person have given negative results in the only case which Lowson investigated upon this point.

The conditions favoring plague are similar to those favoring typhus fever, namely: crowd poisoning, bad ventilation and drainage, impure water supply, famine or imperfect nourishment, and inattention to sanitary requirements. It is probable of this disease, as of yellow fever, that human habitations and the ground may become so thoroughly infected as to establish endemicity. The bacillus may infect food and water, though how long it will retain its virility in water is as yet undetermined. Clothing and other personal effects, bedding, etc., may be infected through the discharges. The bacillus is not killed by drying, as is the case with the cholera bacillus, and may be carried in the dust arising through the cleansing of dwelling-houses which plague patients have occupied.

A very important element in the spread of plague in houses and localities are rats and other animals. It has been found that rats, mice, snakes, beetles, bugs, flies, dogs, and jackals are infected during an epidemic. It is significant that the purely herbivorous animals—horses, oxen, sheep, goats and rabbits—are exempt. Rats die in large numbers, and generally this phenomenon is observed in advance of the appearance of the plague among human beings. The cause of their infection is still a subject of discussion. The soil becomes infected, and a very common belief in Oriental countries is that the rat contracts the disease from miasmatic emanations from the soil, but this has never been scientifically demonstrated, and is probably incorrect. The fact that mortality among rats precedes an outbreak of plague among human beings is explained by Lowson by the fact that rats have their snouts about an inch above the floors of houses, and are more liable to inspire plague-infected dust than are human beings.

Modern science in its development of the serum therapy of disease appears to have found a thoroughly efficacious remedy in the treatment of this disease, which hitherto has maintained an average mortality of 90 per cent. A French physician, Yersin, was the first to use the serum from an immunized horse upon cases of a severe type. At Amoy, in 1896, he treated 23 cases of plague in this manner, all of whom recovered excepting two, whose cases were desperate from the outset, and upon whom treat-

ment was not begun until the fifth day of the disease. The method is similar to that of the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria, the efficacy of which is now thoroughly established.

In the prevention of the spread of the disease in a given house, all hygienic measures are necessary, such as proper sewerage, purity of water supply, isolation of the sick, disinfection of clothing and bedding, of the evacuations, and disinfection of the room, all unnecessary contact with the sick to be avoided, great care to be exercised with regard to food and drink, and according to Kitasato, after recovery the patient to be kept in isolation for at least one month. It is believed that we have a valuable aid in disinfection of rooms and houses in formaldehyd gas, which has now been established as a reliable agent superseding sulphur and which can be used without injury to metals or fabrics. Experiments with this gas as a disinfectant have been carefully made within the last year in the laboratory of the Marine Hospital Service, and the results published in the Public Health Reports issued by the Bureau. A formalin lamp for the generation of formaldehyd gas, suitable for practical use in dwellings, has been invented and successfully tested.

The advice of Kitasato that the patient should be kept isolated one month after apparent recovery is significant. Like precautions are necessary with regard to other contagious diseases, and too little attention has heretofore been paid to this very necessary precaution against the spread of contagious disease. For example, patients apparently recovered from cholera may carry within the intestinal tract the germs of the disease a variable time, possibly fourteen days. Patients who have apparently recovered from diphtheria may still be found to have the diphtheria bacillus present in the throat for many days.

As a means of preventing the spread of the disease, mention should not be omitted of the efforts of Haffkine, who has prepared, and is now using in India, a prophylactic lymph, in other words, a vaccination against the disease, which recent reports indicate is successful. Over a thousand natives and leading Europeans have already been inoculated in Bombay.

The means to be adopted when the disease becomes epidemic in a city consist, first, of a house-to-house inspection. In Bombay the Government has undertaken the inspection of 30,000 houses.

There should be prohibition of the use of dwellings unfit for habitation, and abatement of overcrowding should be required. Buildings and premises infected or suspected should be vacated for cleansing and disinfecting. The sick should be removed to hospitals or treated in their own homes, and the well who have been exposed should be removed to refuge camps. Infected bedding, clothing, etc., should be destroyed. It is the opinion of some English writers that when plague has been thoroughly fixed and established in a given city, its speedy eradication is impossible. However this may be, it is a fact that the subsidence of the plague seems to depend upon the abatement of its virulence in the due course of its evolution, and it is generally conceded that a period of seven months is necessary for the subsidence of an epidemic.

From the foregoing lines it may be readily understood how the malady may be transmitted from one country to another by travel and commerce, either overland or by sea. As with cholera, the chief element connected with its spread from India to other portions of Asia and into Europe and Africa, are the religious pilgrimages. Pilgrims from infected districts visit the shrines which are also visited by people from non-infected districts, who carry back with them the germs of the disease.

With a view to preventing the spread of the plague from India into Europe, an International Sanitary Conference has been called by the Italian Government at the instance of the Austro-Hungarian Government, which assembled at Venice, February 9th, 1897, and was expected to adjourn *sine die* about the middle of March. The representatives from the United States are Consul-General Wallace S. Jones, and Passed Assistant Surgeon H. D. Geddings, U. S. Marine Hospital Service, technical delegate. The direct interest that the United States has in the prevention of the spread of the disease into Europe may be seen from a consideration of the dangers which would threaten this country, provided the disease should become epidemic in certain European seaports, especially those from which large numbers of emigrants embark for the United States. For example, there is a large emigration from Naples, and the vessels which bring immigrants from Naples have Marseilles as their port of original departure. Thus, the infection of either port would be a matter of serious concern, and it should be remem-

bered that Marseilles is the great entrepôt on the Mediterranean of commerce from the Orient.

There are two features of this disease which are matters for serious consideration, so far as the United States is concerned; one is the fact that while the period of incubation of the ordinary plague, the violent form of the disease, is from three to six days, there is said to be another form called the ambulant, or walking form, or *pestis minor*, in which the symptoms are mild, the patients not being confined to bed. They may be afflicted for a period of from 10 to 30 days before the symptoms have developed which call attention to the disease, and it may then develop into the violent form. The other feature is the prolonged and still uncertain length of life under favorable circumstances of the plague bacillus. This has an important bearing upon the possibility of conveyance by merchandise. Personal effects are easily disinfected, but certain classes of merchandise are so difficult and expensive to disinfect as to render the measure impracticable. New merchandise plays a comparatively small role in the conveyance of contagious diseases, yet when suspected it must be disinfected or forbidden entry, until a time has elapsed covering the natural life of the bacillus.

The system of quarantine adopted by the United States is deemed sufficient to meet any emergencies. The law and regulations relate to foreign as well as to domestic ports, and require every vessel leaving a foreign port for the United States to have a bill of health signed by the consul certifying that all the requirements have been complied with. The regulations for foreign ports are such as to insure the sanitary condition of the vessel, its cargo, and passengers before sailing.

In addition to the above there is a complete and uniform system of quarantine for domestic ports. These are explicit with regard to inspection before entry, removal and treatment of the sick with contagious disease, the isolation of those who have been exposed to contagion, the disinfection of the vessel and any articles of cargo that may be infected, and finally with regard to vessels bringing immigrants, a notification to be sent to the proper state health authorities of the expected arrival within their jurisdiction of immigrants who have arrived on the infected vessel, even though all precautionary measures necessary at quarantine have been taken.

The government is well equipped with quarantine stations for the disinfection of infected vessels, and has besides several large stations where immigrants can be detained in barracks under observation, as at the Delaware Breakwater and Fisherman's Island (entrance of Chesapeake Bay), on the Atlantic coast; and Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, and Diamond Point, Washington, on the Pacific.

The Marine Hospital Service has control of twelve national quarantine stations and five inspection stations. At other ports the quarantine is maintained by State or municipal authorities, but these are obliged to conform in their practice to the regulations laid down by the Treasury Department, of which the Marine Hospital Service is a Bureau. To ensure this conformity, once or twice a year, as may be necessary, every State or local quarantine station is thoroughly inspected by a trained officer of the Marine Hospital Service. It is no longer possible, as it was prior to 1893, for a port in one State to maintain a lax quarantine to encourage its commerce, while a port in an adjoining State is enforcing proper quarantine for the exclusion of disease.

It seems impossible that the plague should ever again ravage the earth as in previous centuries.

Modern quarantine is effective to a degree. Though old fashioned and absurd as administered by some of the European countries, and imperfectly executed in others, and influenced too greatly by commercial considerations in England, it nevertheless has proven, and will continue to prove, a powerful shield against this Asiatic invasion. Even should the disease spread to certain European countries, modern sanitation of cities, the knowledge of disinfectants and improved disinfecting appliances, and modern knowledge of the disease itself would doubtless enable it to be confined within reasonable limits.

WALTER WYMAN.

THE UPRISING OF GREECE.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.,
AND DEMETRIUS N. BOTASSI, GRECIAN CONSUL-
GENERAL AT NEW YORK.

I.

WHEN the Kingdom of Greece was constituted, mainly by the heroic efforts of the Greek people in the war of independence, the interference of the protecting States, England, France, and Russia, left her with boundaries so narrowly drawn that she was as a kingdom cramped and starved. Only a few of the least profitable of the islands were given to Greece, although in many of the others the maritime population had been more successful against the Turks than had been any other section of the Greeks who rose against Turkish rule. Most of the islands were restored to Turkey, although Samos was given autonomy under a Greek Prince and with a Greek Parliament and a local *gendarmerie* of her own.

In 1867 an outbreak occurred in Crete, which was supported by volunteers from Greece, and which lasted for a couple of years. The Turks put it down by pouring regular troops into the island, which the command of the sea, at that time possessed by them as against Greece, enabled them easily to do.

In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, both the Cretan question and that of the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus were discussed, and it was ultimately decided, on the proposal of France, to augment the territory of the Greek kingdom, acknowledged to be far too small, by the addition to Greece of those portions of Thessaly and Epirus which were almost exclusively inhabited by people Greek both in religion and in race. Holding as I did at that time office in the Greek Committee, as the body of the sympathizers of Greece in England was called, I was familiar with the

position of the negotiations with Turkey which followed the Treaty of Berlin, and lasted until the time when I became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in April, 1880. When we took office nothing had been done towards causing the Turks to carry out the proposal which had been accepted by the Powers at Berlin. Ultimately, by our efforts, the rest of Europe following somewhat uneasily the guidance which we gave, a compromise was arrived at and Greece received the greater portion of the proposed accession of territory in Thessaly, while Turkey retained the greater part of what by the French proposal was to have been given to Greece in Epirus. Notably there remained to Turkey the town and district of Janina, one of the ancient centres of Greek cultivation. Of the Greek mountains of the classics, neither Pindus nor the true Olympus is yet of the Greek kingdom, and the great majority of the Hellenic race are still outside the boundaries of the Hellenic kingdom.

The ability of the King of Greece was shown by the manner in which he contrived to keep turbulent subjects, with a strong patriotic impulse and with an overwhelmingly strong case, quiet until the time came when they were able to act with effect. In 1886 Greece had shown some signs of trying to conquer by arms the portions of Epirus which had been withheld from her after the Congress of Berlin had declared them to be hers by right; and Great Britain unfortunately took the lead in a blockade of the Greek coasts by the fleets of the great Powers, which was represented as being the preservation of Greece against conquest by Turkey, the probable result of her rash acts, but which was, in fact, pressure on Greece, by the starvation of her fishing population, to accept a veto by the Powers on an action which might already at that time have proved successful.

From time to time since 1886 Greek bands have fought on the frontier of Northern Thessaly and in Macedonia, but on the whole the attitude of Greece has been one of expectancy, in which she was rather prepared to prevent Bulgarian eventual rivals from gaining the upper hand in Macedonia, than concerned in attacking the Turks, whose loss of the European provinces seemed but a matter of time. Greece, like Russia, seemed to think that she could afford to wait. The violent scenes at Constantinople of the last year or two, producing risings in Asia

Minor, in the Lebanon, in Palestine, and in Crete, the Greeks again became hard to hold, and Greek volunteers began to pour into Macedonia and into Crete in the autumn of last year. Things came to a head in Crete and the recent action of the Powers is the result.

Had the Powers been in earnest in their desire to coerce Turkey to bring about a better government of its empire, it is in the Greek islands of the Archipelago that coercion might most safely have been begun. The dangers of a partition of continental Turkey are great and should suffice to prevent the operation. The risks of conflict between Austria and Russia, and between Russia and the United Kingdom, are tremendous; and France could not on this occasion be left out of the account as she was in the proposals made by the Emperor Nicholas I., to Sir Hamilton Seymour, before the Crimean war, when Russia proposed that England should take Egypt and Crete, and that the future of continental Turkey east of the Isthmus of Suez should be settled between Austria and himself. All the Powers at the present moment are opposed to a partition, although Lord Salisbury made an incautious speech on the first night of the present session in which he said that if the offer of the Emperor Nicholas were to be renewed at the present time it would be gladly accepted. The policy, however, of freeing the islands of the Archipelago which are entirely Greek by race and mainly Greek by religion, from a Turkish rule which is wholly alien, and in their case not even a necessary evil, is distinct from that of continental partition, and might be adopted without danger to the general fabric of Turkish rule, if the Powers were true to the policy which they have professed. The doubt is whether Germany, Austria, and Italy are really friendly to the claims of Greece. Germany is, we are told, in fact unfriendly. Austria has her own claims on territory inhabited by Greeks in the direction of Salonica, and Italy had some years ago pretensions in Albania which brought her into sharp conflict with the Greeks. In France there is a good deal of feeling in favor both of the classical Greek cause and of the person of King George; and in England the Greek cause is extremely popular.

One of the chief difficulties of the question lies in the fact that the emperors and the conservative statesmen naturally desire to see the pacification of the Levant at the end of the efforts that

they are making, whereas this pacification is not likely to be their outcome. Supposing the Cretan question settled, the probability of a renewed outbreak in Macedonia in the spring is hardly perhaps decreased by the settlement which will have been come to.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

II.

THOSE who are condemning Greece for disturbing the peace of Europe ought to stop and think of the circumstances which brought about the present state of things, and lay the responsibility where it should be, and not on Greece and her sovereign.

The present insurrection of Crete is the ninth since that unhappy island came into the possession of the Turks in 1669. In 1821—the Greek War of Independence—Crete revolted with the other islands against the rule of the Sultan, but when, by the treaty of London of 1830, Greece became an independent Kingdom, the island was handed back to Turkey, and since that time the insurrections of the Cretans have been periodical and, at times, very serious.

It is generally admitted that Crete has been always one of the worst governed provinces of Turkey, and no Christian people in the Ottoman Empire suffered more than the Christians of Crete at the hands of their Mussulman rulers. In 1840 the island was handed over to Mehemet Ali of Egypt, but shortly afterwards the Turks took possession again and ruled with such high hand that in 1866 a formidable insurrection broke out which lasted over two years. The brave islanders came very near attaining their cherished hope, union with Greece, had it not been for the jealousy of the European Powers and the distrust of each other, which enabled the Turks to become masters once more. That war cost the Turkish Treasury more than \$30,000,000, or as Ali Pasha, the grand vizier, remarked at the time, more than the cost of the Crimean war.

At the end of 1868 an organic law was promulgated, making some liberal concessions to the Cretans, but, as usual, they were never put into practice, and dissatisfaction and chaos were the result.

After the signature of the San Stefano treaty the Cretans

made an earnest appeal to the Berlin Congress, through the Greek delegates, for the amelioration of their pitiful condition, and the result was the insertion of the following article in the Berlin treaty :

“Article XXIII.—The Sublime Porte undertakes to apply scrupulously to the Island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868, whilst introducing into it the modifications which may be considered advisable.”

The Turks signed the treaty, but never troubled themselves about the organic law. A fresh insurrection (1878) broke out, and the Porte resorted to its usual tactics, promises, and sent Mukhtar Pasha to Crete to pacify the island, with full powers to grant certain privileges in accordance with the above organic law. Negotiations began at once between the Turkish Commissioner and the Christian delegates, and the result was the treaty of Halepa, signed on the 15th of October, 1878.

By the terms of that treaty the Governor of the Island was to be a Christian, and a limited measure of autonomy was granted. But the new regime did not work, or in plainer terms the Turks did not let it work. A Christian governor was appointed, it is true, but a military governor was sent at the same time, who had the command of the troops, and being a Mussulman could act independently of the civil governor. The position of the former became thus untenable, and after the appointment of one or two more Christian governors, with no better result, the Porte threw off the mask and a real Mussulman was sent finally. The concessions of the Halepa Treaty were withdrawn one after another, and that famous instrument became eventually a dead letter.

The result was another insurrection in 1889, which so exasperated the Sultan that he abolished formally all the privileges granted by the Halepa pact.

The island has been in a state of ferment ever since, and in July last (1896) open hostilities broke out between Mussulmans and Christians with the accompanying evils of plunder, massacre, and the burning of villages. These troubles culminated eventually in open insurrection ; the Christians took to the mountains and occupied the principal strategic positions, and sympathizing volunteers went to their assistance from Greece. Had the Greek government encouraged the insurgents then, things would not have come to the dangerous point they have now reached.

Through her Consuls at Canea and Heraklion, Greece advised the insurgents to stop the aggressive war, assuring them that the Powers were working for their benefit, and that the Porte would renew the terms of the Halepa treaty, whose execution would be supervised by the foreign Consuls.

The Porte, pressed by the Powers, through their ambassadors at Constantinople, promulgated finally one Irade, or Imperial Decree, the terms of which were as follows :

Article 1. The Governor-General will be a Christian, appointed by the Sultan, with the approval of the Powers, for five years.

Art. 2. The Governor-General will have the right to veto the measures passed by the Assembly, but in case he fails to exercise this privilege within two months, said law will be considered as valid.

Art. 3. In case of disturbances the Governor-General may use the Imperial Army to re-establish order, but, with the exception of this eventuality, the soldiers must remain within the fortresses.

Art. 4. The Governor-General will appoint the employees of secondary posts, the number of which will be fixed later on. The employees of higher grades shall be appointed by the Sultan.

Art. 5. Public officers will be distributed in the proportion of two-thirds to Christians and one-third to Mussulmans.

Art. 6. The election of members to the National Assembly will take place every two years. The sessions will last from 40 to 80 days.

The Assembly will vote the estimates for two years, will audit the accounts, and decide every law and proposition by two-thirds majority.

Art. 7. Any proposition for an increase of expenditure cannot be introduced except by the Governor-General or the appropriate Committee.

Art. 8. The firman of 1880, which grants to Crete one-half of the customs revenues, is hereby confirmed. The tax on imported tobacco goes to the Treasury of the Island. The Sublime Porte will assume the deficits which remained unconfirmed by the Assembly, deducting, however, the amounts advanced by the Imperial exchequer.

Art. 9. A Committee, including European officers, will reorganize the local *gendarmerie*.

Art. 10. A committee, which will include foreign jurists, will study the necessary reforms for the administration of justice, preserving intact the existing treaties (capitulations).

Art. 11. The publication of books and newspapers is permitted. Also the establishment of printing offices and of scientific associations according to law.

Art. 12. Kurd immigrants cannot establish themselves in the Island without the permission of the Governor-General. He will have the right to exile any of them who cannot show visible means of existence and whose presence may be considered as detrimental to the public order.

Art. 13. The General Assembly will begin its sittings within six months after the confirmation of this Constitution. The elections will take place in accordance with the law of 1887 and until that time the Governor-General will carry out the existing regulations, in conjunction with the Municipal Council.

Art. 14. The great Powers will undertake to see that the above regulations shall be faithfully carried out.

The above organic law was accepted by the Cretan Delegates and signed on the 3d of September, 1896, with the following declaration :

"The undersigned, plenipotentiaries to the Cretan General Assembly, do declare that we accept, in the name of the Christian population of Crete, the organic law, communicated to us by the Consuls of the Great Powers September 1, 1896."

The Cretans were at the time satisfied with these concessions, and waited for the promised reforms, but in vain. The Porte put all sorts of impediments in the way of the reorganization scheme; the Mussulmans of Crete were enraged at the concessions made to the Christians, the Consuls looked on passively and did nothing, and disorder reigned in the unhappy island once more. The Christians became restless, the Turks arrogant, and the revolting scenes of pillage, massacre, and incendiarism were renewed, more fiercely than ever, culminating with the terrible slaughter at Canea, which forced the European Powers to look once more into the Cretan question, which threatened to take unexpected proportions and reopen, perhaps, the dreaded Eastern question.

Greece was accused of fomenting the insurrection of July, 1896, and helping secretly the insurgents. Nothing is further from the truth. On the contrary, the Greek Government, through its Consul-General at Canea, counselled moderation to the insurgents, promising that she would use all her influence with the great Powers to obtain from the Sultan the concessions asked. It is true that many volunteers from Greece joined the insurgents, being in hearty sympathy with them, but the government was entirely powerless to prevent their going. Premier Delyannis expressed himself as follows to a foreign correspondent at the time :

"There must be an end to the present state of things in Crete. The impression made by the recent massacres, devastations, and plunder has created a public opinion which cannot be overlooked by the Greek Government. We cannot always act as guardians to Turkey and endeavor to suppress the sentiments of our brothers, by postponing indefinitely the fulfilment of their most cherished aspirations.

"In the Berlin Congress Mr. Waddington said to me : 'Have patience. Crete is a ripe fruit. It will soon fall.' But think what we had to go through ever since. We have made immense sacrifices in money. We

always advised the Cretans to have patience and be prudent. But there are moments when, on account of Turkish misgovernment and oppression, they lose patience, and then they resort to arms. Their villages are burned and they extend to us supplicating hands. We are bound to protect them, but it is a terrible drain on our resources, for the reason that Europe and the Sultan are doing us the favor to let us feed and clothe these poor people, reduced to abject misery by the Moslem fanatical hordes."

The recent massacres at Canea rendered the position of King George and his Cabinet well-nigh untenable. Something had to be done and that without delay. The excitement rose up to fever heat. Officers of the regular army deserted their posts and went to Crete to join the insurgents. Committees of citizens were formed and gold from home and abroad poured in in a steady stream. Dangerous demonstrations were made under the windows of the King and of Prime Minister Delyannis and the word "treason" was often pronounced among the crowd. No human power could stem the current; the whole nation had risen like one man clamoring for armed intervention in Crete. What could the King and his Cabinet do, except to follow the national current? A Greek torpedo flotilla under Prince George, the second son of the King, sailed for the Cretan waters and an expeditionary corps of regulars, 1,500 strong, commanded by Colonel Vassos, Aide-de-Camp to the King, landed at Platania, near Canea, to prevent further massacres and establish order. The Cretans hailed the landing of the troops with delight. They brought law and order to them. But this bold movement was frowned at by the great Powers. They called it rash, senseless, and dangerous to European peace. They sent their men-of-war to Canea and landed marines to preserve order. They even bombarded with shells the positions of the insurgents, when the latter came dangerously near the city walls. Thus we witness the sad spectacle of Christian Europe upholding Turkish rule in Crete against the wish of its inhabitants, not from conviction that they are doing right, but because they are afraid that by the transfer of Crete to the Greek rule other Turkish provinces may revolt and reopen thus the Eastern question.

The idle talk about the integrity of the Turkish Empire deceives nobody to-day. The dismemberment of Turkey began over 100 years ago. In 1783, Turkey lost the Crimea. In 1830 she lost Greece. In 1857 Moldavia and Wallachia, the two Danubian principalities, were united, and finally became the present flour-

ishing kingdom of Roumania under King Charles in 1881. In 1862 the Turkish garrison evacuated Belgrade, and in 1878 Serbia became an independent kingdom. Bulgaria is virtually independent under Prince Ferdinand, and Turkey quietly acquiesced in the absorption of Eastern Roumelia in 1887. Kars and Batum were snatched by Russia in 1878. England seized Cyprus in the same year, and Austria was comfortably installed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Where is the alleged integrity of the Turkish Empire in the face of the above historical facts? Bosnia and Herzegovina, two essentially Mussulman provinces, have nothing in common with Austria, which now rules over them. But when the question of Crete and Greece comes to be considered, all Christian Europe shakes with holy horror at the unreasonable aspirations of Greece in seeking to free an island inhabited by a homogeneous population, professing the same faith and situated at its very doors. But in this advanced era of civilization a new force, that makes for justice, is always felt on occasions like this among civilized nations, and that is "public opinion." While Lord Salisbury was declaring in the House of Lords that Crete cannot be united to Greece, one hundred English Liberals were signing a telegram of sympathy to King George, and a monster meeting of 30,000 Englishmen in Hyde Park were passing resolutions in favor of Greece.

Numerous meetings were held in the principal towns of Italy, expressing lively sympathy with Greece, and not only money was contributed, but many volunteers started for Crete to fight on the side of the Cretans. Two hundred French students in Paris offered their services to the Greek Minister in that capital, to go to Crete at their own expense, provided the Greek Government would recognize them as a military body, and lastly the United States Senate passed unanimously a resolution of sympathy with Greece, following the American traditions of 1821, the year of the Greek war of Independence. Greece to-day has enlisted the sympathies of the whole civilized world, and whether she succeeds or not this time to fulfil part at least of her national aspirations, she has proved beyond doubt that the old spirit of Hellenism is fully alive among the Greeks of to-day, and that they are justified in their claim to be considered an important element in the regeneration of Eastern Europe.

D. N. BOTASSI.

A SPANISH VIEW OF THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY CAPTAIN JOSÉ GUTIÉRREZ SOBRAL, NAVAL ATTACHÉ
OF THE SPANISH LEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into a technical study of the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, or to discuss the question as to whether this inter-oceanic route is or is not more practicable of realization than the rival routes of Panama and Tehuantepec. It is indisputable that, whichever one of the three routes shall be finally adopted and the work carried to a successful conclusion, the benefits to commerce and navigation will be very great. For many years past it has been the dream and ambition of science and capital to cut the isthmus which unites the two Americas, but the work heretofore undertaken for this purpose has not borne the desired fruit. The first project was to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, the idea being to construct a canal whose waters would be on a level with the two oceans, thus avoiding the necessity for locks, and making it similar to the Suez Canal ; but it was speedily discovered that, owing to the great inundations of the Chagres and the passage of the Culebra, it would be necessary to construct locks which would carry the canal above the maximum rise of the former river and the lowest level of the Culebra. The difficulty, however, in the first of these two requirements is, that there is no means of supplying water to locks above the highest level of the Chagres, and besides it would be necessary to adopt precautionary measures to prevent the inundation of that river from endangering the canal.

The Tehuantepec project consisted simply in building across the isthmus of that name a railroad of four tracks, to be traversed by specially constructed cars capable of sustaining the vessels to be transferred from the port of Barra in the Gulf of

Mexico to Salina Cruz on the Pacific Coast, the distance between these two ports being 154 miles. There exists in Nova Scotia a railroad 17 miles long which unites the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence and which is capable of transferring vessels of 2,000 tons.

The third project is to construct a canal across Nicaragua by utilizing the San Juan River and the Nicaragua Lake. Whilst this would not form a level-water canal, it would, nevertheless, require but few locks, and these could easily be supplied with water, since there are natural deposits.

As has been said, none of these three projects has yet been carried to a successful issue, and this need not excite surprise when it is considered that the Isthmus of Suez, of infinitely more importance, remained for centuries and centuries closed to the vast commerce which has always been carried on between the peoples of Europe and those of the Orient. I am far from ignoring the advantages which any one of the three projected canals would give to the country it intersected; but at the same time I am certain that, for international and universal commerce, it would never be of the same importance as the Suez Canal. I base this belief upon the fact that the Red Sea forms part of the road which unites two hemispheres, whose productions, industries, and manufactures are entirely different. Europe and Asia, from whatever point of view you may consider them, are two distinct and separate regions, whereas Europe and America consist of populations very similar to each other. As in liquids currents form themselves, owing either to difference of level or to inequality in specific gravity, so in the mercantile world will be found commercial currents between two countries due to the fact of inequality of production, or to the fact that one produces what the other does not.

When we pass through the proposed canal and come to the Pacific side, the first thing we see toward the south are the lands of Peru and Chile, and toward the north the lands of Mexico and the United States, countries which, owing to the conditions of soil and the character of the population, can raise all such products as are raised in Europe and in still greater quantity. Besides, it must be borne in mind, that those Pacific coasts are intimately connected with the Atlantic by great railroad systems which traverse the United States, Mexico, and Canada at the

north, and Chile and the Argentine Republic at the south ; and these railroads are constantly bringing to the Atlantic seaboard merchandise for export to Europe. Even the great rivers of America would seem to minimize the need of a canal at any part of the Isthmus. The superb Mississippi, with its great tributaries, the Missouri and the Ohio, pour their waters into the Gulf of Mexico, to which they carry the wines made on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the flocks and herds of the great West, and the wheat of Manitoba. The Amazon and the Orinoco bear to the eastern coast the productions of those sections bordering on the Pacific ; and as river transportation at all times offers the great advantage of reduced cost, it is hardly probable that an artificial channel like an isthmian canal will ever succeed in diverting from the water-courses named the vast commerce which they carry to the Atlantic coast. Nor is it to be supposed that the Nicaragua Canal would be able to compete with the Suez route, and thus influence European commerce. The commercial current between China, Japan, and Australia, and Europe would not follow the Central American route ; for, besides being longer, it would mean the crossing of two wide oceans offering no ports of call at which to fill up in the frequent cases where vessels start on a voyage with light cargo. It is precisely in the frequent discharging and receiving of freight at the different Mediterranean and Oriental ports that a ship-owner finds his profits ; in short, the lines of marine transportation are similar to those of land—they seek the centers of production and not the desert, the latter being represented on the water by the wide ocean.

Here are the distances from Liverpool to various points in the far east *via* Suez and *via* Nicaragua, respectively :

From Liverpool.	Via Suez, miles.	Via Nicaragua, miles.
To Singapore.....	7,958	14,326
To Hong Kong.....	9,810	13,786
To Yokohama.....	11,765	12,111
To Melbourne.....	11,350	12,748

As will be seen from the above table, the distance from Liverpool to the east of Asia and Australia, *via* Suez, is shorter by several thousands of miles than *via* Nicaragua ; and what is true of Liverpool is still more so of the ports of France and Spain, the advantage of the Suez route becoming still more striking the

further one proceeds east along the Mediterranean. I do not mean by these arguments to convey the idea that I consider the construction of the Central American Canal to be a useless project ; on the contrary, I believe it will be very beneficial, but more so to the American continent than to Europe.

The following table of distances from New York to points on the Continent will show this more clearly :

From New York.	Via Cape Horn,	Via Nicaragua,
	miles.	miles.
To San Francisco.....	14,840	4,946
To Behring Straits.....	17,021	8,026
To Acapulco.....	12,071	3,122
To Callao.....	10,689	3,701
To Guayaquil.....	11,471	3,053
To Valparaiso.....	9,750	4,688

It is evident from the above table what an advantage the maritime commerce of America would derive from either the Panama or Nicaragua Canal. The vessels which now sail with cargoes of lumber from Oregon and Washington would thereby be saved a journey of thousands of miles at present rendered necessary by way of Cape Horn ; and such important ports as New York and New Orleans would be brought into close connection with China and Japan, as will be seen from the following table :

From New York.	Via Suez,	Via Nicaragua,
	miles.	miles.
To Singapore.....	11,549	11,578
To Hong Kong.....	13,401	11,038
To Yokohama.....	15,314	9,863
To Melbourne.....	14,920	10,000

From New Orleans.	Via Suez,	Via Nicaragua,
	miles.	miles.
To Singapore.....	12,100	10,865
To Hong Kong.....	13,650	10,325
To Yokohama.....	14,650	8,650
To Melbourne.....	14,790	9,287

The distance between New York and Singapore is almost equal by either of the two routes named ; but in the case of the other ports the saving in distance from American eastern ports is very great ; in other words, the construction of the canal is of prime importance to such eastern ports of the American Continent.

In the year 1790 the centre of population in the United States was Baltimore, and proceeding parallel with the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude, this centre has been shifting until, in 1890, it was found to be between Cincinnati and Indianapolis, that is, in the valley of the Ohio River. The commercial

centre of the United States is gradually moving toward the West; but will this movement continue in the future, or will it stop its course in the valley of the Mississippi? A single topographical condition places the matter in doubt. The Rocky Mountains separate the extreme West—Oregon, Washington, and California, bathed by the Pacific—from those States which are watered by the Mississippi. The relations of these two regions with the East are sustained by means of the railroads which traverse the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and these latter, at the present time, enjoy a monopoly in the transportation of Western products. Any one having the most rudimentary knowledge of the laws of commerce will see at a glance that the greatest enemy of this syndicate of transcontinental railroads would be found in a Nicaragua Canal, hence it is that the former will, as a matter of self-preservation, seek to place every obstacle in the way of a canal enterprise, no matter at what point it may be projected.

In view of the vast extent of this Republic, I am inclined to think that the extreme West will constitute a sphere of production independent of the Central States, of which Chicago may be said to be the metropolis, and the commercial independence of both of these regions is likely to be powerfully affected by events which have recently occurred in China and Japan. Even England herself will be likely to feel the influence of what has taken place in the waters of the Yellow Sea; for the late war between China and Japan has ushered in a new era, both political and commercial, with respect to the far East.

If, as a result of the war, Japan has not obtained any great political advantage on the continent of Asia in the shape of territorial aggrandizement, by which she may at no remote time claim a share in the probable partition of China, she has in exchange obtained a signal success in her commercial treaties with the former country. Twenty-five Chinese ports are at present open to the commerce of Europe and America, and both of these latter can now carry their merchandize into the interior upon payment of a scale of duties by no means onerous.

Of these twenty-five treaty ports, fifteen only were open to the Japanese, and if the latter wished to carry their trade into the interior of the Celestial Kingdom they had to pay such heavy duties and fulfil such impossible conditions as to practically debar their

entry. By the new treaty, however, Japan comes under the most favored nation clause, so that she now not only enjoys greater scope for her commercial transactions, but can also utilize the new ports recently opened up to universal commerce, viz., Chun-King and Hang-Chow. This new commercial treaty is beneficial to all nations, but there is one that will derive especial benefit from it, that one being the United States. China, as we all know, comprises a vast population, and is a country whose natural wealth has long lain dormant for lack of development, and this being fully understood by Americans, they have turned their eyes to that inviting field. By reason of their political economy, the United States have succeeded in shutting the gates of Europe to many of their products, and owing to the vast quantity of improved machinery now existing in the Republic, it is found that domestic consumption alone cannot absorb the output, hence the necessity for a new market in the far East. A powerful commercial current is likely to be formed on the Pacific Coast of the United States, a current which will in all probability give Americans a great advantage over England with her Suez route in supplying the Asiatic market. The advantage will consist in reduced distance, always a powerful factor in transportation; and, as the reader will perceive from the preceding tables, the distance from San Francisco or even New York to Hong Kong and Yokohama is much shorter than from Liverpool to those ports. I select Liverpool as the point of comparison, since the most active competition for the trade of the far East will undoubtedly be between England and the United States. Up to the present time, this competition has been destroyed as far as the United States is concerned, thanks to the protectionist policy, which has sought to and has indeed subserved the particular interests of New York and Pennsylvanian manufacturers, but at the expense of other parts of the country which are purely agricultural.

It may be objected that the greater cost of transportation by the Isthmus of Suez than by the Pacific will be offset by the cheaper cost of production in England. It is undoubtedly true that the cost of production has heretofore been, and is still, greater in the United States than in England, but the difference is yearly becoming less marked, since wages in the United States are continually succumbing to the inevitable law of demand and supply, and in spite of protective measures they must ere long approxi-

mate to at least the English standard. Some time ago, when emigration had not assumed its present proportions skilled labor was in a position to dictate almost its own terms, but to-day the opposite is the case, as there is a plethora of such labor going from one industrial centre to another in search of work, and as a consequence, such labor has to submit to the laws of competition. The manufacturing centres of the United States are in the East, and from the Eastern section there is a constant emigration of workmen who, having in vain sought work in Wilmington, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Chicago and other industrial centres, betake themselves to the far West. It follows from this, that the Western shores of the United States are destined to carry on a much greater trade with Eastern Asia than with Europe, and that New York and New Orleans will continue to constitute the export ports for such products of the Central States as are to be shipped to Europe.

Once built, the Nicaragua Canal will be highly beneficial to maritime commerce between North and South America, for that canal will be the natural channel for vessels going from the Southern Pacific coast to the North Atlantic coast, and *vice versa*. The Gulf of Mexico will profit by it by putting itself in communication with the western coasts of the Central American republics, and Europe will avail itself of the route in order to reach the shores of Chile and Peru and those of Mexico on the Pacific. On the other hand, the Suez Canal has greatly shortened the distance between Europe and Asia, between which from time immemorial there have existed commercial relations of vast importance. By way of the Suez Canal, vessels proceed to the immense coasts of Arabia, India, Siam, Cochin-China, China, Corea, Japan, and the Philippine Islands, all of them rich in products unknown in America. Compare the movement of vessels *via* the Cape of Good Hope before the opening of the Suez Canal with the present tonnage *via* Cape Horn and it will be seen that the latter does not constitute one-tenth of the former. The recent failure of the Panama project was due not so much to financial scandals, shameful as these were, as to the fact that there was no clear conception, as there was in case of the Suez Canal, of the great advantages to be derived from the work, once accomplished. The loss of some millions of dollars may be contemplated with calmness when one is buoyed

up with hope and conviction; and those who proposed to unite the waters of the Mediterranean with those of the Red Sea looked such possible loss steadily in the face and proceeded confidently with the work of building the Suez Canal, notwithstanding the ill-concealed, if not active opposition of a powerful nation like England.

It is sufficient to glance at a map of the United States to see at once how important, in a strategic and military sense, the Nicaragua Canal would be to this country. The Atlantic and Pacific coasts, now separated by some 12,000 miles of water, require for their defence powerful squadrons which have to manœuvre independently of each other, since they are so widely separated that it is impossible for them to render each other mutual support. The 2,043 miles of coast, stretching from Sandy Hook to Florida, 1,852 miles from this latter to the Rio Grande, and 1,810 miles from the Mexican frontier to the Straits of Fucar, making a total of 5,705 miles, render it a matter of difficulty to defend so extensive a littoral, and in this enumeration I have left out of calculation the 3,000 miles of coast comprised in the Alaskan possessions. Along the vast coast line I have alluded to are situated some of the most important cities of the Union—centres of population enormously rich in manufacturing industries and yet almost defenceless against attack from any one of the European fleets.

It is not sufficient for the North American Republic that the Nicaragua Canal should be built; she desires more; she not only aspires to a preponderating influence, but almost to absolute ownership of this interoceanic route known as the "Key of the Pacific." The interests of the United States, says an American writer, must never be exposed to the contingencies of a European war, which might result in the seizure of the Nicaragua Canal by some of the belligerents. Halifax, Bermuda, Cuba, Porto Rico, Jamaica, Kitts, Saint Vincent, Granada, Trinidad, and other islands in the Caribbean Sea now owned by European powers, would at any time constitute a danger for the United States in case the latter were not in possession of the canal, which he insists should be perfectly fortified, not only at its two extremities, but along its entire extension, so as to guard it from falling into the power of any hostile nation. Of all the possessions I have enumerated the most important in the estimate

of Americans are those belonging to England. As to Cuba, although occupying a commanding strategic position with reference to Mexico and the Caribbean sea, the island inspires no apprehension in the United States so long as it is in the possession of Spain, for it is not supposed that the latter will in any contingency interfere in the affairs of Nicaragua. What is to be guarded against, says the same American writer, is, that in the event of Cuba becoming independent, she must not be permitted to become another Black Republic like Hayti, and to save the island from such a fate, the intervention of some strong power would become necessary. The official character of the writer referred to (Assistant Secretary of War) did not permit of his specifying which nation would constitute this strong power, but anyone who is at all familiar with American affairs can readily guess for himself.

It is clear that no nation is so much interested as the United States in the construction of an isthmian canal which will unite the waters of the Atlantic with those of the Pacific; for both in a commercial and military respect (especially the latter) it will be likely to prove of great benefit to the Republic. For my own part, I have always considered the great extent of the United States as, in one sense, their weakness; but the cutting of the canal will bring the remoter sections into connection. In case of war, their Atlantic squadron could at once go to the assistance of their Pacific squadron in the event of danger to the latter and *vice versa*—a thing which is to-day impossible.

I have no idea that the American nation will haggle over the outlay necessary for the work proposed, and they will certainly not be deterred from the enterprise by reason of the prejudice it will cause to European possessions in American waters; but I believe it will be necessary for Spain, in case the projected canal should be carried to a successful conclusion, to fortify her possessions in the West Indies and to maintain such a fleet in those waters as will neutralize to some extent the control of the canal by the United States. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that the nations of Europe will ever consent to such exclusive ownership; on the contrary, I think they will, with every show of justice, offer it their strenuous opposition. Even the Latin nations of the American continent, who now understand the full significance of the Monroe Doctrine, will probably oppose such

exclusive dominion, for they have come to know that the doctrine referred to is the Upas Tree beneath the shade of which their independence is expiring.

If the possession of the Nicaragua Canal gives its owner the option of throwing open or closing communication between the Pacific and the Caribbean Sea, it no longer facilitates but puts an embargo on communication between the last-named and the Gulf of Mexico. At the entrance to this gulf, whether coming through the Straits of Florida or those of Yucatan, there stands a sentinel who can watch it with ease, and can at a given moment bar the way to the ports of Texas, Louisiana, and those of the other States.

The degree of influence or control to be possessed by the United States over the Nicaragua Canal must depend upon the concurrence of various nations, but Spain as the owner of Cuba must at all times exercise a powerful influence in the Gulf of Mexico, and its fleet in those waters will play no secondary part.

Havana is the naval port of the Florida channel, and it only remains to seek a site which will in like degree dominate the Straits of Yucatan, and with proper fortifications at Cape San Antonio, which in stress would serve the Spanish fleet as a refuge, the position of Spain in the Gulf would be a commanding one.

J. G. SOBRAL.

THE NEED OF COPYRIGHT REFORM.

BY W. MORRIS COLLES, DIRECTOR OF THE INCORPORATED
SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

It may not be uninteresting to briefly investigate some of the more flagrant anomalies of the copyright laws which obtain in the United States and England. Sooner or later we believe the time will come when a code largely common to the two countries will be formulated, and we think there is little in the way of unity of action. The needs of authors and of the owners of copyrights in the United States and England are practically identical. What we require is a simple and clear enunciation of what copyright is, how it is created, and how it is protected; a ready means of elucidating dealings with it so that these shall be certain and clear. There can be no question whatever that an immense and a growing interest is being injuriously affected by the doubts, delays, and difficulties which surround the most simple transactions to which copyright is incidental. Some of these are, perhaps, inevitable, but many, if not most, will undoubtedly be removed, as they have been removed in the case of other vocations involving at least as complicated incidents.

Let us take, for instance, the term for which copyright endures. There is no reason whatever why a uniform term should not be agreed upon by the united voice of the world. By English common law, it is the opinion of many, that an author's copyright, prior to the Act of Anne, the first of the copyright Acts, was a perpetual right and endured for all time. In America there is, it is argued, no common law at all and the right was never anything else but statutory. For it is not possible to regard copyright as having had any existence in the States prior to the Constitution of 1786, or the first Copyright Act of 1790.

We must disregard the local laws of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and those other States which distinguished themselves by early copyright legislation. The Act of Congress of 1790 followed almost in terms the British statute of 1709. It gave to the author the same term of protection, for it was not until 1831 that this was extended by a right of renewal to author or his widow or children for a third term of fourteen years. This limit has remained unaltered, so that America stands in the position of conferring upon authors the shortest term known to any civilized country. Many successful American authors live to see some of their works common property, so that they would be better off in Japan. English copyright enjoys shorter protection than that of any other language. Spain and Italy are not regarded as very enlightened countries, but the former since 1879 has given life and eighty years, while the latter adds to a period enduring for life and forty years the right to a five per cent. royalty from all publishers for a further term of forty years.

A lively controversy has raged round all these terms. There is the school which holds the opinion very strongly that an author is not entitled to any protection at all, and there is the school which holds the ultra view, that an author is entitled as of right to perpetual copyright, and there are the means between these two extremes. The verdict of all the interests concerned is in favor of a common term, and it is widely held that this should be a mean between the periods prevailing, that is, life and thirty years, the term recommended by the Copyright Commissioners of Great Britain in 1878.

The first thing, therefore, for American reformers to take in hand, is the lengthening of the term in the United States, so that it should come into line with that prevailing in other countries. It is hardly fair reciprocity to give only the limited copyright now prevailing in America. As the law stands a British, or any other, author, acquiring a good American copyright, and dying just before the expiration of twenty-eight years, would not be able to leave any property behind him at all unless he had a widow and children.

Moreover, is it not ludicrous that the legislation of the United States should rest upon an obsolete statute of the reign of Queen Anne, and not upon established principles? Certain rash

writers have taken it into their heads to refer to the Act of Anne as being the cornerstone of English copyright law. It is difficult to discuss the question on that premise. The act was passed solely on the initiative of the Stationers' Company, whose members having at that time "fifty thousand pounds invested in copyrights," missed the remedies provided by the Licensing Acts, which had been abrogated in consequence of the triumphs of the constitutional objections to the principle of a censorship which had existed since Milton's day.

It was during its passage through Parliament that this "Act for the Encouragement of Learning" emasculated the law by giving future writers certain remedies for a term of years. Sixty years later it was decided by the House of Lords that the act was substitutionary and not cumulative, and that it had taken away all the old common law rights. In its penal sections the act followed with servile exactitude the Parliamentary Order of 1643, and the Licensing Act of 1662. The term fixed by the act was deliberately copied from the Statute of Monopolies of James I., not by reason of any analogy, but as a convenient period for an experimental remedy to run.

Now, can anything more absurd be conceived than that the copyright law of America should have been built upon a misapplied act of James I., unless it be the contention that the mistake established the truth of the principle that copyright is a monopoly?

Instances without number have been given of the injustice worked by the shortness of the term allowed by the American copyright law to authors. In the case of Washington Irving most of his better known works were out of copyright during his lifetime, but he could not even leave his nieces any claim to a renewal of the rights in his great "Life of Washington," which was only completed in the year of his death. Fenimore Cooper, too, lived to see many of his rights pass into the public domain. Lowell saw his early works become public property long before he died; so did Oliver Wendell Holmes, who enjoyed the pleasure of seeing his earliest efforts sold as "Holmes' Poems." Whittier underwent the same personal experience, and so did Bancroft, the earliest volumes of the first edition of whose "History of the United States" became public property in 1876 and 1879, while the copyright in the whole work expired in 1882.

Now, this is an obvious injustice, whatever may be said for or against the rights of authorship; the least that can be allotted to an author is protection during his life. The time is not far distant when the public verdict will be declared in favor of one uniform term which will secure to an author an adequate recompense and insure the return to honest literary endeavor that is not insured under our present imperfect and heterogeneous systems.

Next to the duration, if not before it, come what have been styled the investitive facts of copyright. No doubt a great stride towards uniformity has been made by the signatory states of the Berne Convention. The conferring of equal benefits with natives upon the authors of all the works of any of the states which have adhered to the convention on compliance with the conditions necessary in the "country of origin" renders absolute community in practice *pro tanto* unnecessary. The adhesion of the United States to the convention would mark an epoch in the history of intellectual property of unexampled importance; but that event seems destined to be postponed for a long while to come, and meanwhile it is eminently desirable for some common basis of practice to be agreed upon as to the acts conditional to copyright.

As things are, it is all chaotic. Registration, where it exists, and is conditional as in America, is a cut and dried formula, and it is generally more or less clear what are the required forms to be gone through. But is registration sufficient to secure a United States copyright? Is not publication also a condition precedent? Copyright in Great Britain is a more difficult *cruz*. There are not, so far as we are aware, any precedents existing in any country to elucidate the point as to what constitutes publication. Thus a practice has sprung up of publishing *pro forma* which is, if you think of it, a contradiction in terms. For surely publication must imply a dedication to the public use, and publication *pro forma* can be nothing of the kind. Registration, as we have said, is an ascertainable fact. But registration may not be "good." As a matter of practice it is often bogus, and so you get a register, supposed to be conclusive evidence of title to valuable property, which is full of bogus entries. Then again the deposit of copies as provided for in nearly all countries is a tax. In Great Britain five copies may be required, one for the British

Museum, and one for each of the four libraries designated in the Act, if they call for them. In America, Belgium, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Canada, two copies are required ; in Spain and Bolivia, three copies, and in Venezuela four copies, and so on. Now, surely in the interests of literature this should be adjusted. If one copy only of any work were deposited at the National Library of each country in which copyright was sought, it should suffice to justify the claim of protection. The question is full of difficulty, and any conceivable machinery is liable to work badly, but nothing could be more mischievous than the present system, or want of system.

America has the advantage of Great Britain in having established a practical uniformity for the different classes of copyright. To take the words from the statute, "maps, charts, musical or dramatic compositions, engravings, cuts, photographs, paintings, drawings, chromos, statuary, and models or designs, if intended to be perfected as works of fine art," come within the same rules as books, as far as these are applicable. But American law has no definition of the word "book."

Now in England the case is very different. Not even is the term the same. In music, lectures, engravings, paintings, statuary, it varies and rests upon such distinct statutory rules as to give rise to the impression that there are different kinds of copyright. Then, again, take registration (which in the United States is uniformly essential) ; for books in England it is optional, for paintings, drawings, and photographs compulsory ; with statuary, again, it appears to be unnecessary to register at all since 1883, nor is any registration required to protect the copyright of an engraving. It is idle to generalize. Each case can only be dealt with as it arises, and in view of the facts, statutes, and precedents ; but can a more complete muddle be conceived than the problem before anyone desiring to comply with the law in both countries ? It calls for a jury of experts to say what are the necessary investigative acts to be performed. In the case of music and any of the forms of artistic work the present system is monumentally chaotic. In other words, instead of the matter being simple and sure, it is full of difficulty and doubt, highly complicated and in large part unsettled and uncertain. Not even the judges themselves are clear as to the meaning of the statutes they have to interpret.

English and American reformers should give their lawmakers

no peace until they have individually obtained a code which shall be homogeneous and clear, dealing with all branches which make up this wide question. It should be within the power of every man to ascertain without loss of time or money the nature of the rights which he acquires for his artistic work, whatever shape it may take, and how to protect those rights.

If we turn from the incidents of copyright to the remedies for its infringement, we are in a more parlous case still. Both in England and America the position of a copyright owner is an unenviable one. One of the most simple remedies in theory known to English equity, an injunction to restrain a man from doing an act which he has no right to do, is in practice like playing with a boomerang. Anyone attempting to restrain an offender by an application of this character, after a long investigation involving an intolerable expense, stands a good chance of ascertaining that he ought to have pursued some other remedy. In short, in the present state of English practice, nobody knows until it is all over whether an injunction is the right remedy or not. It is said that there is a growing reluctance on the part of judges to grant injunctions; there is certainly likely to be a growing reluctance to apply for them. An action for damages in a copyright matter, again, can only be described as a luxury. Further, it is no doubt annoying to its owner to see a garbled version of a monumental work set before the public; but we doubt whether it would not be more annoying to him to have to pursue such a remedy as an action for libel, which is what the English precedents indicate to be the only legitimate course.

In the same way in the United States the course of litigation does not seem to be very much smoother. The total absence of any intercommunication between the executive branch which has the control of copyright matters and the judicial authority is perhaps inevitable; but it is certainly not generally understood that the functions of the Librarian of Congress are purely mechanical, involving no question of discretion and conferring no rights not subject to review. The United States Court has enriched the law of copyright by many most valuable decisions; but, to say the least, the process of obtaining the decisions of that tribunal seems to be not a little tedious. The reported cases which have come up for decision under the act of 1891, for instance, serve sufficiently to illustrate that the methods of American

courts differ little from those of English courts in point of certainty and dispatch.

Now, to dismiss the question of procedure in a few words, it must be confessed that the majority of cases of infringement are very trivial. The improper use of a copyright photograph, the illicit performance of a dramatic piece, the piracy whether in whole or in part of a copyright book, are all acts that could be dealt with in a summary manner, and punished (without prejudice to the pursuit of other and further remedies if desired) by a moderate penalty. The truth is that offenders have so long enjoyed comparative immunity on account of the intricacy and inevitable delay of legal proceedings that they often snap their fingers at the law, secure in the belief that they will not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their illicit gains. Now, if in both countries the tortuous procedure which belongs from time immemorial to the settlement of points of law were supplemented by a summary process capable of review, so as to obviate any miscarriage of justice, the game would not be worth the candle, and copyright owners would come by their own.

W. MORRIS COLLES.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

NEITHER in his inaugural address nor in his first message to Congress has President McKinley indicated distinctly a foreign policy. His temporary silence on the subject is, of course, due to the fact that Congress has been convoked in special session for the single purpose of readjusting the tariff so as to make the national revenue at least equal to the national expenditure; and all the energies of the administration will be, if the executive is able to control events, concentrated on the attainment of that end. We scarcely need to say, however, that it is not always possible for a chief magistrate to avert international complications or to prevent public opinion from forcing international questions upon the Federal legislature. There may arise at any moment, for example, out of the situation in Cuba a crisis which will compel the United States to depart from the attitude of indifference which they have maintained for the last two years. So, too, an attempt on the part of Congress to repudiate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which on its face seems meant to be perpetually binding, may provoke serious remonstrance from Great Britain. The alleged intention, also, of the present government of the Dominion of Canada to propose a reciprocity treaty may make it needful for the President to declare what in his judgment should be the present and the eventual relations between this country and British North America. Then, an overture may be made once more by Denmark looking to the sale of her West Indian Islands. What Mr. McKinley would do in any of these contingencies has not been explicitly signified; for the reason, as we have said, that he hopes to have his hands left free for the solution of a fiscal problem. All that the President has said

with reference to matters of foreign policy is that he will assure to American citizens in all parts of the earth the enjoyment of their treaty rights, and that he desires to see confirmed by the Senate an arbitration treaty with Great Britain; not necessarily the treaty negotiated by Mr. Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote in its original form, but, at all events, some modification of that treaty, which shall assert clearly and impressively the preference of enlightened nations for arbitration over war.

Few and brief, however, as are the allusions to the foreign relations of the government in the President's first state papers, we cannot be said to be left in the dark regarding his views and prepossessions. Mr. McKinley is no political accident; he has been repeatedly tested in the public service; he has come to his high office by no sudden leap out of obscurity, but after a protracted and varied experience in State and National affairs: he has been long in the public eye, and all men familiar with the political history of the nation during the last quarter of a century have learned to know something of his character and temperament, of his opinions, his sympathies, and his aims. Consequently, we are able to forecast to a considerable extent the foreign policy of the Federal government under the new administration, because we are acquainted with the main principles by which it will be shaped. It is only the time and mode of the application of those principles under the pressure of absorbing domestic business or of perplexing considerations of expediency, about which we are in doubt. One thing, for example, is certain and obvious, namely, that the course of our government with relation to foreign powers during the four years to come will be one determined and carried out by President McKinley himself, and that therein even the Secretary of State will play but a subordinate and ancillary part. Such has almost always been the case in the history of our Federal Executive, and such was manifestly the intention of the authors of the Constitution when they made the President himself, and not his Minister for Foreign Affairs, responsible to the Federal Legislature. It also seems probable, in view of what we know of the man and of the party which he personifies, that the foreign policy of President McKinley will be the opposite of that of President Cleveland, except in two particulars, namely, the assertion of the Monroe doctrine in the Venezuelan affair, and the affirmation of

the principle of arbitration. It may be averred with confidence, for instance, that the present Chief Magistrate would never have recalled from the Senate the Hawaiian treaty. He would undoubtedly have recognized the claim of Americans on the Hawaiian islands, both because they constitute a large and dominant element of the population, and because they were the Christianizers and the civilizers of the original inhabitants; neither would he have overlooked the value of the group to this country, considered as a purveyor of raw sugar, and as an almost indispensable station of coal supply and of repair, placed as it is midway in the Pacific Ocean. With regard to the Venezuela matter, we believe that Mr McKinley would have proclaimed from the outset of his term of office, without waiting until more than half of it had expired, that the forcible seizure of territory claimed by an American republic, coupled with England's persistent refusal to permit the claim to be tested by arbitration, constituted a flagrant infringement of the Monroe doctrine. For, surely, the occupation of an extensive gold-bearing region, including the mouth of the great river Orinoco, was one of the acts which President Monroe must have had in mind, when he declared that we could not view any interposition by any European power for the purpose of oppressing governments on this side of the Atlantic, whose independence we have acknowledged, or of controlling in any manner their destiny, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. It is by no means a purely academic question whether Mr. McKinley would have promptly taken in the Venezuela affair an attitude substantially identical with that which Mr. Cleveland tardily assumed. Similar controversies are far from unlikely to recur at an early date. On the side of Brazil the frontier of British Guiana remains undetermined; the same is true of French Guiana or Cayenne; and a similar dispute might arise at any hour between Brazil and Dutch Guiana, which latter, through the marriage of the girl Queen of Holland to a German prince, might become an appanage of the German Empire. It is, therefore, of the utmost consequence that for the four years to come we should have a President, as we believe we shall have, who, on behalf of a feeble South American republic, and for the purpose of upholding the integrity of its territory, would face France or Germany as firmly as he would face the United Kingdom.

What have the Cuban combatants for liberty to look for from the new President ? There is at least one thing which, it seems, the Cuban revolutionists should be able to count upon in the course of the coming twelvemonth, if President McKinley in the expression of his instinctive sympathies shall be swayed by the example of so cautious and conservative a statesman as was James Madison. We refer, of course, to the recognition of the Cubans as belligerents. It will be remembered that the *independence* of the Spanish-American republics was not recognized by President Monroe until his second term was considerably advanced, when their independence was a notorious and incontrovertible fact. It should, at the same time, be recalled that almost from the outset of the uprising against Spain this government had conceded to the Spanish-American revolutionists the full enjoyment of *belligerent* rights. Touching this point, we quote a paragraph from Monroe's second inaugural address, delivered on March 5, 1821 : " This contest was considered at an early stage by my predecessor [Madison] a civil war in which the parties were entitled to equal rights in our ports. This decision, the first made by any power, being formed on great consideration of the comparative strength and resources of the parties, the length of time, and the successful opposition made by the colonies, and of all other circumstances on which it ought to depend, was in strict accord with the law of nations. Our attitude has, therefore, been that of neutrality between the parties, an attitude which has been maintained by the government with the strictest impartiality. No aid has been afforded to either, nor has any privilege been enjoyed by the one which has not been equally open to the other party, and every exertion has been made in its power to enforce the execution of the laws prohibiting illegal equipments with equal rigor against both." President Monroe went on to explain that, by this equality between the parties, their public vessels had been received in our ports on the same footing; they had enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms, munitions of war and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which had been passed long before the commencement of the contest; our citizens, finally, had traded equally with both, and their commerce with each had been alike protected by the government.

Another thing which Mr. McKinley seems certain to note

with interest, after the passage of a tariff bill shall enable him to consider the expediency of recognizing that a state of war exists in Cuba, is the solicitude to extend toward the revolting Spanish-American colonies all the benefits of true neutrality exhibited by Mr. John Quincy Adams, when, as Monroe's Secretary of State, he wrote to Mr. Rush a letter, dated January 1, 1819, from which we make this extract: "While this state of things continues, an entire equality of treatment of the parties is not possible; there are circumstances arising from the nature of the contest itself which produce unavoidable inequalities. Spain, for instance, is an acknowledged sovereign power, and, as such, has Ministers and other privileged agents to maintain her interests and exercise her rights conformably with the use of nations. The South Americans, not being yet acknowledged as sovereign and independent states, cannot have the benefit of such officers. *We consider it, however, as among the obligations of neutrality to obviate this inequality, as far as may be practicable. We listen, therefore, to the representations of their deputies or agents, and do them justice, as much as if they were formally accredited.*" It should be borne in mind that Buenos Ayres did not herself declare her independence until 1816, and that Chili did not declare hers until 1818, when Madison's second administration was over. Belligerent rights, however, we repeat, had been conceded to them by the United States for many years. Now, there is more patent and conclusive proof of the existence of a state of public war in Cuba to-day than there was of the existence of a public war in Buenos Ayres, Chili, or Venezuela, when the insurrectionary governments of those countries were recognized as belligerents by Madison. The evidence is furnished by Spain herself, which has upon her pay rolls in Cuba, including volunteers, over 200,000 men, a larger force than she ever maintained simultaneously upon this continent against all her revolted colonists in South America, Central America, and Mexico. In the case of Madison, the recognition of belligerency was made by the Executive, although it was known to have the hearty approval of Congress. In the present instance, Mr. McKinley can have no doubt that a recognition of the Cubans as belligerents would be applauded by the Federal Legislature. He knows that a concurrent resolution in favor of such an act was passed a year ago by the last Congress, and he

knows that the present Congress is in complete accord with its predecessor in this particular. With regard, indeed, to the recognition of the *independence* of Cuba, it is natural that President McKinley should deem it wise to move with caution and circumspection in a matter so aggravating to Spain. What he will do in reference to this matter will doubtless depend on circumstances, by which we mean the duration of the struggle, the measure of success attained by the insurgents, the attitude of European powers, and, above all things, the treatment of American citizens by Spain. A recognition of the Cubans as *belligerents* is a very different thing; it could give Spain no reasonable ground of offence; and, as we have shown in the case of the other Spanish-American colonies, this preliminary step was taken by Madison many years before the second was resolved upon by Monroe.

Although, however, the official expression of the President's sympathies for the Cuban revolutionists will, no doubt, be carefully adjusted to the interests of our own country, those very interests require him to protect the lives and property of American citizens; and this he will unquestionably do under all conditions and against whatever odds. A citizen sojourning in a foreign country is, of course, expected to obey its laws, but, when accused of breaking them, the strong arm of our federal government will be lifted to assure to him every tittle of his treaty rights. Nor, we are confident, will any attempt be made under the new administration, as was made by Mr. Olney, to discriminate between native and naturalized citizens of the United States on the pretext that naturalization papers may have been obtained by fraud. It is the business of the State court which issued them to annul such papers, if due cause be shown; but, in the absence of such annulment, it is not for a federal official to impeach a certificate good upon its face, and to assume to prejudge a case of which he has no proper cognizance. From the course already pursued by our State Department there seems to be good reason to believe that, before Mr. McKinley has been a month in office, there will be a general jail delivery of American citizens wrongfully incarcerated in Cuba.

A word should be said about the interview alleged to have been given by Mr. Sherman to the correspondent of the *London Times*. To the Secretary of State were imputed the assertion,

"If Spain would give me a quit-claim deed to the island of Cuba, I would not have it," and the further statement that he is opposed to all annexation. Especially was he said to have repelled the notion of desiring the annexation of Canada, peaceably or otherwise, to the United States. "Such a move," he is alleged to have said, "is for the interest of neither party." We understand that Mr. Sherman has repudiated a large part of the interview reported in the *Times*, and we are confident that the words ascribed to him do not express the views of the President. It is impossible that Mr. McKinley should not recognize the strategical, industrial, and commercial value of Cuba to this country, although for the moment the annexation of the island is not mooted by anyone. With respect to the annexation of Canada, we may be equally sure that our Chief Magistrate will abide unswervingly by the platform upon which he was elected. That platform, framed by the Republican party in its National Convention at St. Louis, comprised the following affirmation: "We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the Continent by the free consent of its inhabitants." Continental union, peaceably effected, was thus established and proclaimed a principle of the Republican party. The principle was accepted by the people at the ballot-box, and every member of the administration from the President down is bound by it. We have no doubt that Mr. McKinley, mindful of the pledge embodied in the platform to which he subscribed, will apply his influence and his ability in all lawful ways to further the movement for the voluntary incorporation of Canada with this Republic. He may not hold that extension of territory is desirable for its own sake; but he cannot but recognize that in the case of Canada there would be also an extension of market, and an extension of the field of American investments over Canadian mines and enterprises. Nor can he shut his eyes to the fact that the annexation of the Dominion of Canada would mean the final exclusion of war, with all its burdens and horrors, from this continent, and the secure dedication of North America to industry and peace.

We have said that in his inaugural address Mr. McKinley expressed his approval of the Anglo-American arbitration treaty, though he was careful to abstain from disputing the right and

duty of the Senate, as a part of the treaty-making power, to weigh its provisions with care, and improve them, if improvement seemed required. It goes without saying that the President, like every American, is a friend of peace and of arbitration, whenever such blessings can be secured without too great a sacrifice. It was not, however, as an advance agent of the millennium that the new Chief Magistrate came before his countrymen last November; it is to a narrower achievement, namely, the recovery of our national prosperity, that he stands pledged. If that could be best assured by the adoption of the arbitration treaty, in the form which it bore when it left Mr. Olney's hands, he would undoubtedly favor the confirmation of the instrument without amendments. If, on the contrary, amendments seem in the eyes of far-sighted men indispensable to the safe-guarding of our country's interests, we may depend upon it that the maintenance of such amendments will be viewed by the Executive with satisfaction.

When one essays to forecast the foreign policy of a chief magistrate who has thus far refrained from making any comprehensive announcement of his plans, one is forced, as we have said, to base prevision on one's general knowledge of the man. Such knowledge would have been inadequate in the case of Mr. Cleveland, who was somewhat suddenly lifted to the exalted place of a four year's king, without his being able to point to any considerable experience of public life in conspicuous places. This is not the case with President McKinley. His abilities, his temper, his acquirements, and his character have been tested, as we have said, in a great variety of important functions, which have kept him for many years in the eye of his party and his country. As a matter of fact we know more about him than during the last forty years we have known of any other President up to the hour of his taking office. This is as it should be. The tremendous powers of an American executive ought never to be intrusted to a man with any single aspect of whose public or private life his countrymen are unfamiliar.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

BY THE HON. PERRY BELMONT.

“A GOVERNMENT of the people, for the people, and by the people!” That was Lincoln’s ideal description of a pure democracy, but what was the character of the governments established by the men of our colonial era?

By reason of the peculiar personal characteristics, the circumstances and political conduct of the early actual settlers in the Anglo-American Colonies, and the imperfect control exercised in England over the original corporations, or companies, it came to pass that after the Revolution the people of each colony had a perfect and absolute right as well as an experience of independent self-government. Beginning in 1776 each of the Thirteen Colonies, one after another, framed and adopted a written Constitution. Thereafter the people of the States made and subsequently amended, a written Constitution for the States united. None of those Constitutions, State or National, transferred all political sovereignty to the Government created. Any doubt in regard to that was removed by the Tenth Amendment, which declared that “the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

The new industrial problems now pushing to the front respecting individual liberty and property give importance to those divisions of political power.

Neither the government of any State, nor that of the United States, had in the beginning, or has now, inherent sovereignty. Each has only so much as has been delegated by the people in the deed of incorporation. Very learned writers on political science have made volumes of discussion of the question, “What is a State?” The Supreme Court has, since the end of the Civil

War, defined a State in our Union of States as "a political community of free citizens, occupying a territory of defined boundaries, and organized under a government sanctioned and *limited* by a written constitution, and established by the consent of the governed." In the same opinion, after declaring that the perpetuity and indissolubility of the Union by no means imply the loss of the right of self-government by the States; that the preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments are as much within the design and care of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union, and the maintenance of the national government, the Court made an utterance as felicitous and striking as was that by Lincoln describing democracy. It said:

"The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible States."

When the War of Secession had been closed, there were adopted by the States certain amendments of the Constitution, intended, by additional powers given to the United States, to afford enlarged protection of the liberty and property of each one of the people. The Supreme Court has told us that those amendments "did not destroy the main features of the system." One of the most far-reaching was the fourteenth. The fifth had declared that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." That restraint had reference only to Congress, and did not limit the power of any State. The Constitution of New York has had, since 1821, a similar injunction, and the protection of the rights of individuals to liberty and property in New York has always been the duty of New York. The Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution gave to New Yorkers an additional guaranty that those rights of liberty and property shall not be invaded, but yet protecting an equality of rights in New York remains, as before, the duty of New York. The United States are now bound to take care that New York does not deny that equality. When the Fourteenth Amendment had been adopted there were men who hoped and believed that the former sovereignty of each State in the Union was at an end, and that thenceforth the Nation alone was to be the only real State. Happily the Supreme Court destroyed that hope and belief wherever it existed. Only two years

ago last January it decided that the relief of the citizens of each State from the burden of "monopoly," and the evils resulting from the restraint of trade among such citizens, had by the Constitution been left with the States, and left with them exclusively, subject always to the restriction that, in dealing with even such evils, the State could not interfere in disregard of "due process of law." The legislature of a State cannot make a monopoly unconstitutional by merely declaring that certain acts will constitute it. The new Amendment did not, said the Court, add new rights; it only provided new guaranties for such right as already existed.

The Fourteenth Amendment, since its adoption by the States, has been often invoked at Washington by corporations, companies, or individuals, complaining of unconstitutional exactions under the laws of one of the States, either as taxes, or for services rendered, which were, in modern judicial language, "clothed with, or affected by, a public use." The tendency of the decisions has been that the phrase, "due process of law," must have judicial application, "under the form and with the machinery provided by the wisdom of successive ages for ascertaining the truth of a matter in controversy." When, in railway administration, a State has empowered commissioners to establish rates (a task not feasible in regard to prices of all articles) and a railway has complained of the unreasonableness of a rate, and the State Court has adjudged that, under the State law, the unreasonableness cannot be investigated, then such State law is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment, because a deprivation of property "without due process of law." The judicial and not the legislative power is the final arbiter of the reasonableness of prices for services "affected by a public use."

I have briefly, and very inadequately, sketched in outline one part of the system of rights and duties by which, in our country, is prevented the arbitrary deprivation of liberty to pursue a lawful calling, acquire property, enjoy and transmit it; a system by which is inhibited the despotic spoliation by a temporary majority of the property of the minority, the laying of taxes and pecuniary burdens on one portion of the community, greater than are proportionally levied upon another; a system by which every lawful contract can be judicially enforced, and by which, at the same time, there is reserved to each State the power to make all

constitutional laws which, in the opinion of the legislature, will promote the public health, secure peace and good order for all the people.

The thirteen words in the Constitution of New York and the United States, to which I have already so often alluded, are a barrier against legislative, or judicial, invasion of individual right to liberty and property. While that barrier exists it cannot be evaded unless by Federal laws relating to coinage and currency and legal tender which,—taking advantage of the fact that the prohibition of the Constitution against enacting any law “impairing the obligations of contracts,” constrains only the separate States and not Congress—invalidate the inviolability of property and the security of savings.

II.

THE antagonist and assailant of our American democracy is European Socialism. The word is quite modern, unless 60 years make a name old. Collectivism is the more recent term. The economic basis of each is much the same. Authors and experts do not agree in defining it. They prefer to describe at great length and with much qualification rather than define. Perhaps they find danger in definition. Dr. Schäffle, an esteemed German writer on economic subjects, declares that “the Alpha and the Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private, competing capitals into a united collective capital.” Quite generally do Socialists profess to think that individual industrial liberty, the present organization of capital, and cut-throat competition will continually breed social, economic, and political anarchy, degrade wage-earners, increase idleness and vice among the rich, promote cheap and bad workmanship, and adulterations of food and drink.

The ills attributed to the gold standard by the advocates of free silver coinage are by Socialists assigned to unrestrained competition in production and distribution. As such competition between capitalists, between laborers, between labor and capital contending with each other for a rightful share of the product of both, goes on not only in each country, but between countries, it is apparent that schemes such as the Socialists urge must, like coinage reform in the sense of bimetallism, be international, or they will be in vain.

In what year of this century modern Socialism had its birth, and in what country, whether England, or France, or Germany, is of little consequence. It is not native to our country. It has been an importation. Within the last dozen years Germany has been the largest exporter to us of the theories on which it rests. An American reader of any one of the exhaustive and exhausting treatises which European Socialists have written, may say to himself, on laying down the volume, that the political, industrial, and social evils which Socialism proposes to remedy in Europe have never existed in the United States, and that if England, or France, or Germany could have had, a century ago, a government by democracy, a written constitution, public schools, secret ballot, an elective legislature and executive, an equality of all before the law, which the United States then had, European Socialism could not have existed to vex the Old World and the New.

With us, individual freedom, political and industrial, has been the rule. On the other side of the ocean, State coercion has been the rule. European Socialists tell us that when "protection" had been finally defeated in England by the elections of 1852 and the policy of "unrestricted competition," *Cobdenism and Manchesterism* as they describe it, had been accepted by Englishmen as an accomplished fact, and Mr. Gladstone had become for the first time Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Liberal party which, when a Whig party, had abolished so many meddling and vexatious restraints on individual activity, began to return to State coercion, and to pursue a path indicated by Socialism.

Herbert Spencer, in *The Man versus the State*, published in 1884, has described some of the results of those changes, restraining Englishmen in directions where actions were previously unchecked, and compelling actions which previously might, or might not, be performed as the individual chose. Since that date socialistic legislation has been forced on one or the other of the ruling parties, and in the direction of using Parliament to remove inequalities which had originated when electoral power was in the hands of a class. Such inequality does not exist in New York. The European aim, so far as it is discernible, seems to be that State employment shall give constant employment, and State ownership of property shall give to all a common enjoyment of it. Possibly that obvious tendency of legislation in

England is having an influence in the United States among those who think that England always leads the right way in finance, taxation, and industrialism, but they, thus influenced, do not always keep it in mind that British conditions are not our conditions, and that England has political, social, and industrial evils yet to be remedied, which we have not and never had.

As a rule, in our country, always excepting, of course, the period of slave labor, employers and workmen have been on an equality before the law. The relation has been one of contract, not involving criminal punishment for its rupture, as in England, where till within 30 years the magistrate could imprison the workman for violation of an agreement to work, but the workman could only have a civil suit against the employer. The breach of contract of service has in New York always been regarded like the breach of any private contract, as permitting only a claim for pecuniary damages, but not an application of penal law, excepting in cases of an unlawful conspiracy by workmen to injure an employer, or by employer to injure workmen.

III.

A PROTECTIVE tariff has been in our country a prevailing exception to perfect freedom from government control in industrial matters. Taxes laid for protection solely are not in this relation to be confounded with taxes levied only for revenue.

The essence of a protective-tariff tax is payment of a bounty to capitalists, under such circumstances that the size of the bounty cannot be ascertained by the taxpayer. Under the McKinley tariff law, imported raw sugar was exempt from duty, but a bounty of two cents a pound was given to domestic producers of sugar and one-half a cent a pound duty was laid on imported refined sugar. What portion of the tax on imported refined sugar was laid solely for revenue, and what portion to aid, benefit, and encourage the sugar "trust" formed in New York in 1887? Who can and will answer? The existing tariff lays 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, or about one cent a pound, on raw sugar, but on refined sugar the rate is one-eighth of a cent a pound, in addition to 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, and an extra one-tenth per cent. on refined sugar arriving from countries, especially Germany, giving an export bounty, and whose competition the sugar "trust" naturally dreaded. Which part of that tax on imported foreign

refined sugar was laid to shield the "trust" from the pressure of competition?

The advocacy of protective tariff taxes has, within the last quarter of a century, been potential in creating a "labor question" in our country. Carl Marx exploited his theory of surplus value in 1848; about that time Rodbertus taught that labor is the source and measure of value, and Lasalle, formulating "the cruel iron law of wages," employed his eloquent pen to defend his thesis that the workman, under then existing conditions in Prussia, could never rise above the standard of living required for his subsistence. He maintained that relief could only be had by voluntary associations of workingmen, with capital supplied by the State, which should merely reserve to itself the right to supervise and examine the books of account and finances of the association. But who then anticipated a "labor question" in this country? Why has it come? Must it not be that, beginning with the colossal tariff schedules of 1864, the incessant advocacy of "protection" has,—by accustoming capitalists interested in manufactures and their associated workingmen, to look upon the result of each Congressional and Presidential contest as the giving or withholding from them a government bounty,—extended its influence over the whole field of labor, diminished the importance and necessity of individual enterprise, energy, sagacity, and promoted the Socialistic theories that now environ us? Is not "indiscriminate charity" in the street to the unemployed, the underpaid, those unwilling to work, now condemned? If so, then why should Congress lay taxes in order to indiscriminately encourage everybody, the businesslike and the unbusinesslike, to embark in protected manufactures? It may be said that competition will naturally reduce prices, but what if manufacturers form "trusts" to prevent the reduction?

The laws of New York have not, in any essential particular, modified the Democratic rule of the earliest and latest Constitutions of the State which have established the legal equality of employer and workmen, the sacredness of individual rights, and prevented undue meddling therewith. If the Legislature has overstepped the limits of the rule, as in the law to prevent the manufacture of cigars and preparation of tobacco in tenement houses, or the law punishing as a criminal the purchaser of two

pounds of coffee under the inducement of a decorated cup and saucer as a gift, the judicial power has declared that there was not "due process of law." The New York Court of Appeals has unanimously given judgments on these and other topics which ought to open the eyes of the most blind Socialist. They should lead him to see that Socialism can never prevail in this State, unless over the ruins of the system of industrial liberty under which New York has lived and prospered.*

New York, popularly governed under a written constitution, has always recognized the fact that as human life can be maintained only by producing, trading, and using the proceeds, there should not be by the State restriction of contracts, or failure by the State to enforce lawful contracts. Otherwise voluntary co-operation among individuals cannot exist.

New York has confined the crime of conspiracy within fixed statutory limits; has declared that the orderly co-operation in order to increase wages of persons employed in any calling is not conspiracy; has enacted that no employer shall compel any person, in order to obtain work, to agree not to join any labor organization; has made it a crime to wilfully break a contract of service with the knowledge that the effort will be to endanger human life, injure personal property. All those laws are to protect industrial freedom.

Less than three years ago the people of New York adopted a revised Constitution. Are they willing to begin now to tear in pieces the new creation? If not, then the control by the State of production and distribution can only be under such ordinary legislative enactments as the judicial power shall declare are permitted by that Constitution. Individual liberty, which is the

* "The constitutional guaranty (due process of law) would be of little worth if the Legislature could, without compensation, destroy property, or its value, deprive the owner of its use, deny him the right to live in his own house, or to work at any lawful trade therein. . . . Under it (the police power) the conduct of an individual and the use of property may be regulated so as to interfere to some extent with the freedom of the one, and the enjoyment of the other. . . . but the power, however broad and extensive, is not above the Constitution. . . . Under the mere guise of police regulation, personal rights and private property cannot be invaded, and the determination of the Legislature is not final or conclusive. . . . Such legislation may invade one class of rights to-day and another to-morrow, and if it can be sanctioned under the Constitution, while far removed in time, we will not be far away in practical statesmanship from those ages when government prefects supervised the building of houses, the rearing of cattle, the sowing of seed, and the reaping of grain and governmental ordinances regulated the movement and labor of artisans, the rate of wages, the price of food, the diet and clothing of the people, and a large range of other affairs, long since in all civilized lands regarded as outside a governmental function. Such governmental interferences disturb the normal adjustments of the social fabric and usually derange the delicate and complicated machinery of industry and cause a score of ills while attempting the removal of one," *In Matter of Jacobs, Vol. 98, N. Y. Reports, p. 98.*

encouragement of individual ability, and creator of the collective power of the State, must have the freedom guaranteed by that Constitution. The first invasion by Socialism of the rights of individuals to property is usually under the guise of taxation as in the recent income tax law with its \$4,000 exemption.

IV.

TEN years ago several sugar refining corporations organized under New York laws attempted in New York to combine and form a partnership or "trust," but when the effort had been presented in due form to the Courts of the State, it was quietly but very effectively stamped out. The several corporations, abandoning New York, re-formed in New Jersey, and the refineries thereunder that were situated in New York continued production and distribution as before. The contrivance condemned by the New York Judiciary was an attempt by the share-owners in a number of corporations, through agreements among themselves to transfer to a committee all their certificates of shares, the committee taking from each corporation new certificates of shares in the name of the committee, and then giving back to the original owners certificates issued by the committee according to the original shares. The result was that the original owners of all the shares in all the corporations empowered the committee to control all the corporations for the benefit of the former.

In 1889 Senator Sherman represented to Congress his opinion regarding the evils of such "trusts," and, during the next year, was largely instrumental in securing the enactment of an ineffective Federal law making illegal any combination injurious to interstate, or international commerce, or trade in any of the territories. He fiercely denounced improper combinations of capital to monopolize the production and distribution of articles of food and enhance the price thereof, and yet in apparent unconsciousness of the inconsistency, he advocated in the same year the McKinley tariff. In 1892, when the condemned attempt in New York was fresh in the political mind, the Democratic and Republican national platforms vigorously denounced "trusts." President Cleveland, in the Address, which in March, 1893, inaugurated his second term, and also in his last annual message to Congress, reprobated "trusts." Neither the excellent platform adopted in 1896 at Indianapolis by the National Democrats, nor

platforms adopted in that year by the Republicans, the Populists, or the Silverites at St. Louis, men tioned "trusts." The Democratic (free silver) party at Chicago was the only one that distinctly referred to the "formation of trusts and pools." President McKinley's inauguration reference to trusts, a few days ago, although based, as he said, on Republican party "declarations in the past," referred by way of justification not to the silent Republican platform of 1896, on which he was elected President, but to the platform of 1892. The very day on which the new President condemned trusts, his competitor, Mr. Bryan, violently assailed them in a New York morning journal, not only because pernicious to industry and enhancing prices, but because he fancied "trusts" had been detected in tainting with venality the contents of the ballot boxes.

The most lynx-eyed, penetrating, and piercing political purifier, carefully studying the fifth, sixth, and seventh Titles of the New York Penal Code, intended to preserve the voting, the legislative and the executive integrity of the State, cannot, I think, put his finger on an evil not therein provided for, which cannot be reached and punished if it exist, and prosecuting officers will do their duty. If, however, corporations should be mentioned by name, if their franchises should for any offence be taken away, let it be so enacted. If it be really true that corporations do pay money to a party "boss" to manipulate caucus nominations, and an election of candidates for Governor, Senator, or Assemblyman, on the understanding that the "boss" will persuade such officers, if chosen, to further the improper schemes of such corporations, then let practicable amendments of the Code be made. But it will be intolerable, if a corporation, or partnership, or individual, whose constitutional right to liberty and property is assailed by black-mailing efforts at Albany, can not employ and pay reputable members of the bar to expose and resist before a legislative committee, or the Executive, such an assault. What is needed most of all is putting a stop to "jamming through" legislation without an adequate examination, argument, dispute, discussion, and debate.

The condemnation of "trusts" having been based by President McKinley on their exclusion of competition, which exclusion it was said they promoted, it will be illuminating to pause for a moment to observe what he officially defined in his in-

augural address as the "principle" which his Administration will insist upon in laying Federal taxes. Direct taxes, including income taxes, are, "for the most part" to be, he said, "avoided in every form." There is not to be needless increase of internal federal taxation. Zealous care for "American labor" is to control in the arrangement of tariff schedules. Obtaining sufficient money to defray government expenditure is to be one object, but the "controlling" object is to be "ample protection and encouragement to the industries and development of our country." That implies a shielding of protected manufacturers from foreign competition. The "trusts" seek freedom from competition.

Were a single individual to put into sugar-refining business capital enough to buy and operate all the refineries, he probably could not, under the existing laws of New York, be interfered with unless he violated health laws or police laws, no matter what quantity of sugar he refined, or at what price he held it for sale, or on what terms he consigned it to grocers for sale. Why should the law applicable to the business be varied if a rich man takes superintendents, or workmen, or any one else into partnership, or forms a perfectly lawful corporation. I am not now commending or condemning; I am only analyzing. The "trust" cannot live in New York under our present Civil Code, but why should not a corporation be permitted to do what an individual could do if he had enough capital? A monopoly is a grant by the State, giving control over the supply of an article, or of a service, but a corporate franchise granted under the general laws of New York is not that. Any three or more persons may form an industrial corporation. Anyone may buy its shares if for sale. Each share has a vote for directors who can, by a majority of the shares, be annually changed. What can be more democratic? A majority of the directors, acting according to law, can control the corporation. If the directors do not perform their duties properly, it will be the fault of a majority of the shareholders if that defect exists longer than a year. The New York Penal Code is very searching in punishing corporate mismanagement as a crime. In 1893 New York forbade a combination between a stock corporation and any person to create a "monopoly," or "the unlawful restraint of trade," or to prevent "com-

petition in any necessary of life." What is such "monopoly" or such "unlawful restraint," or such "competition," is not in any New York statute clearly defined. The definition and its application have, therefore, been left to the judicial power, whenever, in a suit, the question shall be presented. The courts can then decide when private property, or its employment, has become of such public interest, and so affected by the use the public is thus compelled to make, as to subject such property to restrictions not to be applied to other private property. New York corporate franchises are given only in trust, and on the condition that they shall not be used to the detriment of the State and its people. An Attorney-General is elected every two years, with ample powers to present an offending corporation to the courts which can take away the corporate franchise. A majority of the voters of the State can elect a vigilant Attorney-General if they will only take the trouble to vote at the primaries and on election day.

New York has so greatly improved her corporation laws and industrial laws that now only competent administration is required, unless it be that the example and experience of Massachusetts in securing from each industrial corporation compliance with the conditions of its charter, and the requirements of the public, through Commissioners with carefully limited discretionary powers, are worthy of attention, in order to best utilize corporate capital and preserve individual liberty.

New York Constitutions of 1846 and 1894 authorized the Legislature to alter, or repeal, corporate charters, subject, of course, to the rule that the use of such reserved power shall not deprive a corporation of its property, or annul its contracts. The Democratic State Convention of 1874 declared: "Corporations chartered by the State always supervisable by the State in the interests of the people."

The New York Legislature, perceiving that "trusts" in other States might by sales in New York imperil healthy competition, has enacted very drastic laws of prevention.

"Competition" is the watchword, and if an Attorney-General chosen by popular vote is alert and capable, harmful combinations should under existing laws be prevented. Capital is useful to its industrial owner when its products are extensively bought and consumed. A corporation will naturally keep its selling price

so low as not to tempt into the field a new competitor with new capital, new energy, and new prices. We live under a government by public opinion and the ballot boxes, and it will make extremely difficult in New York an arbitrary manipulation of industrial affairs by organized capital, even if it were possible to combine it for the effort. Capital in New York cannot be united as a voting force, unless its spoliation shall be attempted by a political party.

V.

THE report just now made in Albany by the Legislative Committee, of which Mr. Lexow was chairman, will be disappointing to New York producers and distributors of merchandise, to experts in social science, politicians, and thinking men of all classes. It fails to bring forth the truth that the demand for large capital, for completeness and economy of administration, is now so exacting that churches, libraries, colleges, and schools, and even social clubs, are beginning to feel the necessity of combination and consolidation. It omits, even although all the power of a legislative committee was in the hand of Mr. Lexow, to explain what New York wishes to know, the variation of prices of articles produced by "trusts," before and after their formation in 1887, before and after their dissolution in 1890 and 1891, and to give an accurate chart of prices each month of the years since 1883, including the influence of tariff laws and business depressions. It stigmatizes the natural reticence of witnesses who were agents of corporations under New Jersey laws in response to questions intended to convict the witnesses of crime. It confesses in one part of the report that "we cannot suggest at this time a remedy," and yet in another part suggests the remedy proposed by the Socialistic advocates of a Federal income tax, which is amendment of the Constitution, or a change of opinions on the Supreme bench. When it alludes to "monopoly," it does not refer to its ancient meaning in statutes, which is an exclusive right, or franchise, granted by the State. It does not define, or even describe, in terms appreciable and capable of practical application, which combinations of capital, conducted by New York corporations, it condemns. It declares that "the present agitation" grows out of hostility to a word which is "trusts," and then defines "trusts" as doing absurdly "unnatural" things, which very things New York has already, by existing laws,

made unlawful. It proposes a new law giving to the Attorney-General a power which brings to mind that twenty years and more ago the House of Representatives at Washington prosecuted an inquiry into a real estate "pool," in which Jay Cook & Co., debtors to the government, were concerned, and that Kilburn, a member of the "pool," summoned as a witness by a House Committee, refused to produce books and papers, and answer questions. By order of the House he was imprisoned. He sued the Sergeant-at-arms and the Committee. The case went to the Supreme Court, which unanimously adjudged that the House had not the power to investigate private affairs; that it had not judicial power; that investigating the real estate "pool," was the business of a Court, with which the House had no right to meddle, nor had it the right to order the arrest of Kilburn. The draughtsmen of the one piece of remedial legislation originally reported by the Lexow Committee have attempted to empower the New York Executive to constrain any person, by fear of imprisonment, to reveal to the Attorney-General evidence to convict of a crime, and have also endeavored to avoid the difficulties in the Kilburn case by associating with an executive officer a judicial officer bereft of all judicial discretion, thus trying to make an investigation seem to be judicial in law, when it is executive in fact. A straightforward way would be to ask a Grand Jury to investigate and indict an individual, and the Attorney-General to proceed in Court against a corporation, entering into forbidden combinations to prevent competition, etc. Whether or not the individual, or the corporation, has violated the law, is certainly a judicial question. Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, our New York Legislature, when it thinks of invading one's liberty, or property, has to count with the Supreme Court at Washington. There is a suspicion of a partisan purpose in Mr. Lexow's proposed remedy which any mere "worker" in politics can readily discern.

Amidst the profusion of well-rounded sentences in the report, it is not easy to discover the opinion of the Committee on the main question submitted to it by the Legislature, but it is fair to infer from the report that the Committee concede the right of New Yorkers to form industrial partnerships and companies, to decide what shall be the quantity of production

and if it be not "affected by a public use," the price of the product, and that New York can not deprive them, under the existing Constitution, of that liberty, but yet the Committee seem to believe that the existence of the right depends on its magnitude. Indeed the Committee affirm that a corporation cannot, in the opinion of the Committee, have the liberty to produce eighty per cent. of the refined sugar consumed in the country. The right to property depends, they seem to fancy, on the size of the property, and freedom of contract on the magnitude of the contract. The major premises of the reasoning of the Republican legislative report are something like this; if the intelligence, energy, and savings of A interpose, in competition, a barrier against the success of B, on account of his stupidity, indolence, and waste, then the Constitution of New York and the United States should be so amended as to protect B from A, and give to B that which Socialists never weary of describing as an "equal opportunity."

VI.

Even if New York shall not, in a Socialistic sense, enter new spheres of action, as it is urged to do by Socialists, there will be needed better administration in the city and State. The division line between politics and administration cannot be easily drawn in theory, but it exists in practice. Insisting that administrative questions are not political questions gives little assistance. Public opinion makes majorities, and they rule under the restraint of our fundamental law. A State Commission intelligent enough to interpret that public opinion, as well as the law, to directors of industrial corporations, ought to be as useful in New York as it seems to be in Massachusetts.

It is often said that a democracy is not favorable for the highest work in administration, and that defective administration is the price we pay, and must continue to pay, for individual liberty, and yet in the affairs of organized capital in our country are to be seen the best types of administration. Why can it not be had in organized State and city governments? Is it exclusively a foreign art, a foreign science, a foreign faculty? We have to reconcile democracy and bureaucracy. We cannot get along with administration dislocated from the people and not responsible to public opinion. Under the head of administration may

be classified good bookkeeping by corporations, a uniform system for exhibiting capital, number of shares, gross earnings, operating expenses, fixed charges, taxes, debts, and net income applicable to dividends. Those things New York can require of all corporations organized and doing business in its jurisdiction as is now required of its railway corporations, and most valuable, if made public, would the fact be not only to the actual share-owners, but to those seeking safe investments. Conferring power on corporations is politics, but supervising and enforcing systematic and proper supervision of the power when conferred is administration. The rate, sum, and method of taxation is politics, but assessing and collecting taxes under the law is administration. The selection of the higher grade of administrative officers is politics, and the selection must, so long as we have government by party recognized in Federal and State laws, as notably and unfortunately in the case of our New York Police Commissioners, be made by the Executive after due consideration of public opinion. We must and will have a government of laws, but we also need a government by men who will be responsive to public opinion. Administration should be a public-spirited instrument of just government, and nowhere is it more needed than now in corporations, municipal as well as private.

May not New York rest awhile from meddling legislation, regarding either capital or labor, excepting so far as may be needed to adequately execute the laws we have? Such abstinence in law-making and such presence of capable law-administering should give the *coup de grace* to Socialism.

PERRY BELMONT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SPECULATION IN DAMAGE CLAIMS.

I.

IN the February NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW Mr. E. Parmalee Prentice writes on the above subject. He makes a good showing from his point of view; but by those who have observed, and by lawyers who have had experience in the trial of personal injury cases, his article will be regarded as from a corporation standpoint.

What he says about the "extensive litigation and large verdicts recovered" in the courts of Chicago is undoubtedly true; but the heavy damages given by the Chicago juries are not criterions of the damages recovered in many of the States, especially those west of the Mississippi and the New England States.

From an examination of the cases determined by Appellate courts in the past year for the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota, we find seventy-four reversals for defendants against fifty-nine affirmances for plaintiffs; and in cases where plaintiffs have prevailed a verdict as large as \$5,000 was rarely given.

Mr. Prentice, while complaining of the size and number of verdicts, gives no account of the nature and extent of the injuries received by the unfortunate plaintiffs—whether slightly or permanently injured by the loss of arms, legs, or eyes, or perhaps death of the wage-earner; and says nothing about the negligence or the fault of defendants.

It is admitted that personal injury cases are numerous, but they can not be regarded as inordinately so when we consider the use of recently discovered powers, the large number of new machines operated in the industrial world, and the incompetence of so many of the workmen employed.

It is also true that occasionally large verdicts are rendered, but it should not be forgotten that the right to recover for injuries to the person (plaintiff) through the negligence of the party in fault (defendant) without contributory negligence on the part of the plaintiff is an old and well-settled rule of law based upon considerations of justice. Contributory negligence on the part of the plaintiff prevents recovery. This important defence was unknown to the common law; but with such defence being held valid by our courts of last resort we think the defendants in this class of cases have no reason to complain.

A man would think it very strange if denied the right to recover damages from a wrongdoer who injured his property. Why should an exception be made for an injury to the human body? A woman loses her husband

through the negligence of a railroad company—a man has his child crippled for life (a constant source of expense) by a defective street through the negligence of a municipal corporation—a woman is injured by being suddenly thrown or jerked from a street car. These unfortunates are usually poor, wholly unable to employ counsel; therefore their cases are taken by attorneys upon contingent fees. What would become of them otherwise? As long as the theory of the law is exact justice to all, no valid reason can be shown why damages should not be given in meritorious cases, and no reason why these cases should not be prosecuted on contingent fees. The old law of champerty has been rightly repealed in many States. When in vogue it tended to deny many people in limited circumstances a redress for their wrongs.

In Minnesota, corporations are held under rightful subjugation. It is a noticeable fact that in trials the Court is "boss" and not the corporation. Here the right of attorneys to agree with their clients as to compensation is unrestricted, and no abuse arises out of the prosecution of these cases.

A certain prominent railroad company defends and settles about six hundred cases annually for about four per cent. of the aggregate damages claimed. Another with about five hundred cases pays about four and one-half per cent. in fighting and settling. Yet another with a six thousand-mile system disposes of these suits for even a smaller sum. And the same is true of other railroads centering in St. Paul, and of the extensive system of electric street railways operated in the Twin cities.

With the able and fearless judges who adorn the trial courts of this country, who rarely shrink from judicially assuming and regulating the actions and verdicts of juries, it cannot be said that these cases are "practically indefensible."

If, as is frequently claimed, juries are prejudiced against corporations, does not such prejudice have a natural origin? From the time a railroad buys its first piece of right of way to the last act of interstate commerce which it has evaded, has it ever shown a disposition to deal fairly and honestly with people? Yes; sometimes. But more frequently it desires to fight on general principles—endeavoring to convey to the public the impression that all damages recovered will be absorbed in attorneys' fees unless their own terms of settlement are accepted.

When the time comes that corporations seek honestly to ascertain the true facts of each case, and pay damages when liable, and treat claimants and opposing counsel honorably, and refrain from settling with clients behind their attorneys' backs (which is too frequently done), and, generally, manifest a broader spirit of equity and justice toward the public, then, and not till then, will personal injury cases diminish and the ends of justice be promoted.

S. P. CROSBY.

II.

THE article in the February number of *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, on the subject of "Speculation in Damage Claims," by Mr. Prentice, of Chicago, although founded principally upon local experience, has a national application. The reports of the courts of appeals in every State of the Union will verify this statement. The perfected system of espionage, champerty, and conspiracy, which these "claim lawyers," runners, middlemen, and professional witnesses have formed, is the natural sequence of

organization to take advantage of the determination of certain classes to effect a more equal distribution of property.

The same mental peculiarities which make a Greenbacker, a Populist, a Socialist, or a Free Silverite, prompt the finding of a heavy verdict when a poor man is plaintiff and a rich man or a corporation is defendant, regardless of the law or the evidence.

The principal sufferers are, in a large measure, responsible for the success, thus far, of this highwayman in the jury box. The successful business men of the country decline to serve as jurors, take advantage of their exemptions or plead stress of business to an indulgent judge, who excuses them, allowing improvident professional talesmen to fill their places.

Moreover, the lists of names from which jurors are drawn are made, in most States, by aldermen and town politicians who, in remembering their impecunious constituents, necessarily omit the names of men of property. The result is that capital is not represented in the jury box. If the contest of the present and future is to be between capital and labor, as many claim, here is one sphere wherein labor may enter her judgments *ad libitum* for non-appearance.

There is but one remedy. The business men, the officers of banks, of railroads, and of corporations, commercial and manufacturing, must recognize the necessity of doing jury duty in civil cases when called. As twelve votes are essential for a verdict, in cases where manifest injustice may be done one vote of a fair man will preserve equity.

CHARLES NEVITT.

"CHESNUT," FOR EXAMPLE.

My friend, who lives upon Chestnut Street, in one of the large inland cities, has shown me her considerable collection of addressed envelopes upon which Chestnut has been mis-spelled, and that by those who may be called educated—not a few of the writers being college-bred; one (it was hard to believe, but she proved it beyond question) prominent on the Board of an educational institution of national repute (I hope that is vague enough to prevent its being localized by my readers). Another Chesnutter is a State Librarian (this upon honor), another an eminent jurist—a most interesting list when scanned with comments by my friend and made to support her views concerning certain marked defects in our educational system—the great need of a public or general movement in behalf of *culture of the attention* in our primary schools.

Why is it, she asks, that so many really educated people have never learned to spell? "Why should a man who has made invaluable contribution to the medical science of his age," and she holds up one of her envelopes, "spell Chestnut like that?" When asked if she ever took pains to correct the mistake of her correspondents—those, for instance, who had been misspelling the word for years—she declares she could not do that for many reasons, one of which would be the loss of the peculiar pleasure she has in getting letters addressed to Chesnut Street, because they all add to her material for speculation upon what is, to her, a serious problem. When one of her old Chesnutters, an old gentleman of the old school, who never fails to cross his t's and to dot his i's, and who makes every letter as plain as print—when he recently wrote to her and spelled

Chestnut correctly, as he never did before, she felt seriously alarmed about him, until she discovered in his letter that he was "nott quite sure" about something—proving to her that the impish t she had missed from Chestnut was *the* key, could it but be handled, to some psychological mystery in her correspondent's mentality.

"They are all of one stripe in a way," says my friend, "those who write Chesnut. They have the same mental squint—only with a difference—holding that Dr. Johnson, if his friend 'Boswel' had lived on a Chestnut Street would have written Chesnut every time."

Why is it that some folk (not many but some) who have been taught how to spell, and who must have seen that word frequently all their lives, will mis-spell it when they take pen in hand? And not only that familiar word, but a score of others. Who can tell just what is the root of the trouble? Is it a constitutional inherited peculiarity, or something usually acquired through false educational methods—a misleading of the memory until a wrong is perpetuated for all time? The autograph letters of many famous scholars add much to this subject. There are few comparatively of the great men of the last century who did not make grievous slips in their orthography; while as for the women who could write at all and write well is not their epistolary charm very largely in their quaintly delicious blunders—their "bloughing of buguls" and "konkering pash-uns," etc.? Benjamin Franklin sinned often against the spelling-book, yet he wrote of spelling as "a little art," one that it was a shame for a man to be ignofant of; and that ignorance of orthography (how blandly ignorant of his own) was an unpardonable defect, "making many men of learning and understanding averse to writing even a common letter." If the men of learning and understanding of this day would but wax confidential to the reading public and reveal some of their individual experiences in mastering "the little art," we should be greatly entertained and profited, no doubt. What Poe so happily called "the depravity of inanimate things" has incarnation for many of us (who never spell Chestnut with one t, never) in certain words that rise up to torment and disgrace us whenever we must use them in writing—sending us to the dictionary every time; unless, like some among us, we print them loud and hang them over our desks. "Are there two r's in very? Tell me quick," a famous old theologian used to call out from his study when writing under whip of pressure. And lo! there hangs his photograph in his granddaughter's house, with the autograph he hastily inscribed upon it when hurrying to his train: "Your verry loving grandfather."

"These envelopes," says my friend, "prove to me beyond question that there is a stratum of unsound, unreliable memory-cells in most brains. The slips in orthography which educated people make are cognate—clues, if only accepted as such, to the source of the difficulty. These clues bear a relationship, more or less pronounced, to other symptoms of mental deficiency—sometimes it is failure in recalling names and faces; the middle initial of names, or, as in Dean Stanley's case, helplessness in counting small change. Inability to learn a foreign language is another common proof of abnormal brain cells. The Chesnutters invariably show some one of these traits, and yet, the same heredity and environment will produce a poor speller offset by his twin brother who never makes a mistake in spelling, disproving, in a measure, what has been affirmed, that poor spelling, like wooden legs and glass eyes, runs in the blood of some families.

The training of children in concentration of attention, and in unbroken attention, is, according to this collection of Chesnuts, the great remedy for a mental fault, that is more general than many will admit. Will any one who has been mis-spelling Chestnut all his life, ever again mis-spell it after reading this? Not if his attention has been fairly concentrated upon the word, says my friend. And yet, here is the man who as clerk of a church vestry wrote "chappell" upon the records for years, and when his attention was called to his blunder, and he felt no little mortification, of course, didn't he spell it "chapell" in his next minutes? What was the cause? Was the root of his trouble in a congeries of lazy brain cells—useless stations on the lines of his mental telegraphy? The electrifying into activity of undeveloped or suspended brain-cells is what my friend would set our educators at, and in finding out and reporting the proportion of pupils, say in the middle grades of the public schools, who can write a letter to one of their family, off hand, without mis-spelling common words. Then she would add to the duties of educators the scientific study of the mentality, etc., etc., of poor spellers (not the Peter Quilliams, but the educated folk who have their occasional but chronic weak spots in orthography) with reports of the condition of their "spelling centres" as a rule, and the results of experiments by experts.

A revival of the old-fashioned spelling school has been tried in some localities, but only to prove that it does not, as a rule, reach the poor spellers; they stay away from it—they are not wanted in a spelling match. The spelling school was for the glorification of the good spellers. It did something, no doubt, for depraved brain cells before such mysteries were ever heard of in connection with spelling-books—before physical inertia could be charged to weak valvular heart action, and ugly tempers to microbes, and all the rest. The spelling school belongs to a past dispensation, says my friend, but it suggests what might do much for orthography, if the black-board were made a conspicuous feature, and the attention concentrated upon the reading and writing of sentences, of which the following might be an example: "Mr. Wright, the wheelwright, does not write rite rightly," with helpful stories, occasionally, like that of the teacher who wrote upon the board the three words, "Boys, Bees, Bear," asking the children to construct and write a sentence in which these words would be used intelligently, one boy giving at once: "Boys bees bear when they goes in swimming."

JANE MARSH PARKER.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SHIELD.

THE American housekeeper is conceded to be the busiest woman in the known world.

In this country, where there is a large and growing demand for all the luxuries and most of the necessities of life, where there is none of the repose commonly found in an older civilization, the homemaker, besides discharging the functions of wife and mother, does the work of housekeeper, nurse, nursery governess, seamstress, and general housework servant. The chinks between her home duties she fills up with a woman's club or two, a few church societies, a couple of charities, and a Sunday-school class. To these she has lately been told she should add the trifling task of making domestic service a valuable aid to society in the work of moral reform.

The home-maker hears now, probably for the first time, that it is due to her that American domestic service is in its present deplorable condition. Had she and her class created a home atmosphere for servants she might by this time have brought the kingdom of heaven to her very doors.

These charges, and others in the same vein, are easily brought. Some of them are less readily proved. It is safe to begin by denying any implication that because of the attitude of the employers domestic service is considered degrading by any class of the community. No self-respecting woman of the so-called upper classes who possesses ordinary common sense perceives a caste distinction between the "saleslady" or factory girl and the house servant. Among these themselves is it that such social distinctions exist. The first and second classes named consider themselves many rungs higher on the ladder of position than the "living-out girl." They will not hesitate to acknowledge it.

Said a typewriter who had been forced by hard times to take a place as nurse in a private family, "I would't for worlds have any of my friends at home know that I had sunk so low as to go into service. They would never respect me again." She was an American. A girl's club in a New England town was nearly broken up a few years ago because an intelligent well-bred Scotch girl who was in service was admitted through a misunderstanding. To save the club, composed chiefly of shop-girls, she had to go. Another potent influence against domestic service is the disesteem in which it is held by many young men of the mechanic class who have themselves risen a little in the world, and who openly declare their aversion to marrying anyone who is only a "common servant."

There is little hope that a better class of girls will enter service until these conditions are changed and the servants and their friends respect the work.

The material conditions surrounding most servants are certainly not such as to prejudice them against their avocation. There are, doubtless, unkind mistresses who show no more consideration for their employees than if the latter belonged to that most desirable body of automatic attendants of which we read in "The Coming Race." But the majority of housekeepers are kindly, thoughtful, helpful. Possibly many follow the golden rule from selfish motives, for the terror lest the servant should leave if not cared for and indulged is a constant menace. Whatever the motive, the treatment is the same. The employer does what she can to make the servant comfortable. She cannot always give her a roomy, pleasant bed-chamber, because often she does not have it to give. She must take her house as she finds it. If circumstances force her to live in a small flat, her own bedroom is microscopic, and that provided for the servant is no better. Many housekeepers could tell of maids whose large, airy rooms were never kept in order unless the mistress added a daily inspection of them to her countless other duties, and who keenly resented such inspection. I have known of servants who always kept the doors of their rooms locked when they were not in them, for no reason except to conceal their untidiness from the mistress. So far from longing for separate chambers, as the maids have been credited with doing, they generally prefer company, and it is nothing unusual for them to beg to be allowed to room together, on the plea that if sleeping alone they are "that lonely."

The experiment of giving servants their private sitting-room I have known to be tried a number of times without encouragement. Some maids

may use it, others prefer the homely comfort of the kitchen and object to the extra work demanded by the care of another room.

The success of any effort made to regulate the work of the maid so that she may have a little time to herself each day also depends upon the girl. Some servants seem to prefer to linger over their noon meal until the middle of the afternoon rather than to get the dishes out of the way in order to earn a little leisure. The conviction some of them cherish that the mistress will impose more work upon them if by diligence a spare hour is secured is due to the servant's theory, not to the mistress's practice. Most housekeepers feel genuine pride in a servant who is "forehanded," and will boast of the industry of the maid who will get her work done by three o'clock and has an hour or two for herself before it is time to prepare dinner.

The same condition obtains with regard to advising girls as to their friends, their dress, and their reading. A few, who are on exceptionally confidential terms with their employers, might feel gratified for the interest thus displayed; most of them would consider such advice a kindly-meant impertinence—and with some reason.

Experience disproves the pleasant theory that the average servant likes to have her mistress work with her. A few exceptional servants may perform their tasks so well that they are willing to have their employers' eyes constantly upon them, but many resent the intrusion of "the leddy" into their special domain. Others dislike what they esteem surveillance, and nearly all feel a distaste of the thoroughness with which they are obliged to discharge their duties while in the company of the mistress.

To her credit be it said that she does not often yield to this opposition to her society. If the servant has no respect for the dignity of housework, it is seldom because of her employer's abstinence from it. Whatever may be the habits of the New England housekeeper, in those parts of that section unfamiliar to me, in all but the very wealthy homes of the Middle and Southern States, the mistress does much of her fancy cookery, superintends the making of preserves, pickles, and jellies, dusts her choicest bric-a-brac, washes her most delicate china and cut glass, presides over her linen-closet and has her eyes in every part of her house as conscientiously as does the virtuous woman of the Proverbs. Far from allowing her daughters to hate housework and grow up ignorant and incompetent about it, the homes are few where the daughter does not learn something of plain and fancy cookery, and of every other branch of housework except, perhaps, the very heaviest and coarsest. In many instances she has full charge of her own room, dusts the parlors, and is the cake and dessert maker of the family. This may not be the case in homes where a very large and competent staff of trained domestics is employed, under whose care work is conducted as by machinery. But it is not to these, but to people of slender means, to the well-to-do and to the modestly wealthy, for whom are written articles like that quoted above.

We have been told that the mistress should consider it missionary work to train a servant for another place. So it might be if the one thus trained displayed in that other place the orderly habits and accomplishments she has gained. Sometimes she does and earns higher wages thereby—an entirely legitimate course. Unless she has that incentive she is quite likely to require fresh instruction in each place, and to assume an ignorance, especially in matters of cookery, that leads one to think she fears to confess her proficiency lest she should be called upon to exercise it. It is hardly fair

to compare the work a mistress does in training a servant to that performed by a merchant with his office-boy. The latter enters a business house on a small salary, and gains an increase of wages by an increase of duties and responsibilities. If at the end of a period of years he leaves his employer for a place that promises better, there are plenty of other clerks, or bookkeepers or salesmen quite as competent as he waiting to step into the shoes he has left vacant. It is hardly necessary to remark that a totally different state of affairs prevails in domestic service.

The suggestion that sickness, emergencies, or extra work should be paid for with extra wages is excellent. Many mistresses already do this. The rule should, however, work both ways. Yet the housekeepers are few and far between who reduce a servant's wages one-third or one-half when all or part of the family are away from home for one, two, or three months and the maid is left with diminished duties or as, during the summer outing, with practically nothing to do. If she is ill for a week, and the mistress has to nurse her and either do the work of the sick girl herself or hire a woman to do it, that week's wages are not commonly deducted from the maid's stipend. If common-humanity did not stay her, she would be checked by the thought of the obloquy that would be bestowed upon her by all who learned of her heartless treatment of the poor working woman.

This is no attempt to belittle the calling or virtues of the domestic servant. The former is honorable, the latter are many. But it is useless to expect that the millenium can be brought about in our kitchens without a radical change in the maids as well as in the mistresses—if it can be done then.

A woman who has given much thought to the perennial servant problem turned to her maid for light. The latter, an unusually intelligent girl, after suggesting several causes for the distrust that so generally exists between the classes of the domestic employer and employed, summed up the matter to her own satisfaction in the words: "Well, there are poor mistresses and poor maids. It's a pity the two don't always get together."

That they often fail to "get together" will scarcely be denied by the most optimistic. One of the many falsehoods crystallized into proverb form is contained in the saying: "Like mistress, like maid." Given good raw material, a wise mistress may convert an incompetent "greenhorn" into a well-trained servant, but she must have the good material to begin with. In a disheartening number of cases she will find, as does the mother with the child, that the education should have been begun a century before birth. It is rarely possible to uproot in a few months, or even in a few years, the faults and failings of generations. Example and training, advice and judicious reproof, alike fail to turn the tree from the shape into which it was bent while a twig.

Whatever the cause, the fact is indisputable that the influence of the mistress over the ordinary maid is of the slightest. The long-established class tradition places the servant always on the defensive. The word of a fellow-servant, who is nothing to her, will outweigh that of a mistress who has been uniformly kind to her for years. In like manner, example has little force, whether it be that offered in dress, speech, or behavior. Moreover, this class-distrust is so deep-seated that by its influence the servant's vision has become jaundiced. She cannot understand that her mistress had her welfare at heart in teaching and training her. Always her mental query is, "What does she (the mistress) expect to make by it?"

For the cause of faulty domestic service we must seek something further back than the conduct of the mistresses to the maids.

There is rarely an assemblage of housekeepers where the "vexed question" is not discussed, and such a discussion is pretty sure, first or last, to resolve itself into a testimony meeting, at which, however, there is seldom the oneness of testimony that marks similar meetings of a less secular character. One sister will relate her happy experience with a pleasant, good natured servant, while another must bewail her sad case in having taken into her employ a girl who is untidy, untruthful, and light-fingered. They would none of them discharge a servant without giving her a written reference that would enable her to secure another place.

Here then, at least, one lays one's finger upon the chief cause of the incapability of the domestic servant. It is not because she is treated with positive unkindness or passive lack of consideration by her mistress. It is not because her hours are long, her work monotonous, her pleasures few. It is because housekeepers in their references place incompetence on a par with competence, laziness with industry, untidiness with neatness, and with that fine lack of logic so generally characteristic of their sex display the perverted loyalty of defending their employees at the expense of their own class.

We are all familiar with the argument these good women use to support their position. "I could not sleep at night if I thought any word of mine had prevented a poor girl finding a place," exclaims one, virtuously. No, dear madame? And yet you are not troubled with insomnia because you have condemned a sister housekeeper, unwarned, to the annoyances you yourself found unendurable.

"Perhaps the girl may do better somewhere else than she did with me," is the plea of another. True, she may. But what right have you to make another mistress the victim of such an experiment without hinting to her what is in store for her?

Give the girl a reference, by all means. But let it be just. Say that she is honest, obliging, and kind-hearted, although a poor cook who cannot follow a recipe. Or that the maid who has lived with you as waitress and chambermaid is neat and quick, but has a hasty temper, and is careless in handling china and glass.

The answer to this is ready. "But such a reference as this might lose her a place." It is not likely. Servants are all too scarce now, and mistresses will put up with many faults for the sake of a few virtues. And if such a reference did make it more difficult for its owner to find a place? What then?

I hear the "living-out girl" no ill-will. I myself have been blessed among women in the maid servant within my gates. It is for the sake of others like her that I wish incompetence could be rebuked and conscientious service rewarded. Now, the two are on an equal footing as regards wages, privileges, and references. And by whose fault? That of the housekeepers at large, whose consideration, like the gentle dew of heaven, droppeth alike on the just and unjust—so long as these are of the employed class.

"After all, I don't see that it makes much difference," says one woman wearily. "I have been keeping house twenty-five years and have had a large and varied assortment of servants. I have tried to recognize my duty to my equals as well as to my inferiors: When I could not truthfully give a girl a satisfactory written character, I have told her that she could refer her

next prospective mistress to me. I could number on the fingers of one hand the housekeepers who have come to me to learn the record of girls who had left my employ. Yet again and again I have heard of their obtaining excellent places with no apparent difficulty."

Here is another cause of the incapable service we deplore. Why should a girl trouble herself to work for a good reference when she can secure a satisfactory place without it? After all, we must grant her the failings of an ordinary human being. We all know that the persons are comparatively few who do their best work simply because it is right when their own interest is unlikely to be affected by their conduct.

To make reform in domestic service thorough and lasting, we must begin at the top. Until this is done we cannot hope for radical improvement in our employees. Biding that we must be content to work what little change we can by rose-water methods, knowing all the while that the poor servants are worse because of the system, the good ones tolerable in spite of the system.

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